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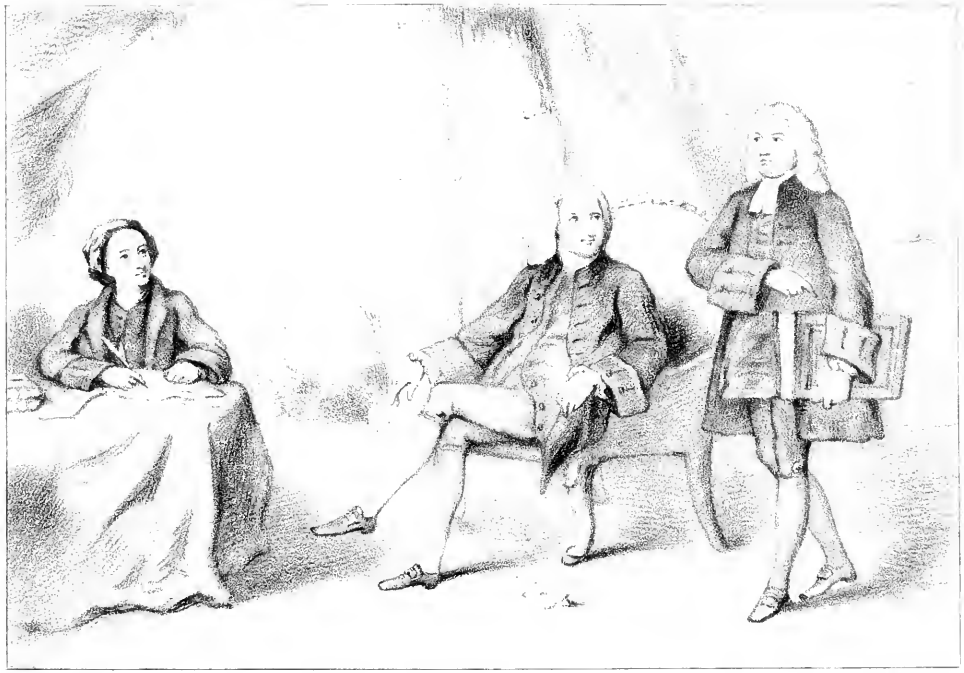

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A SELECTION

FROM

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF GLOCESTER.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS KILVERT, M.A.

LATE OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LONDON:

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1841.

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THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

A NEW EDITION,

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A DISCOURSE BY WAY OF GENERAL PREFACE;

CONTAINING

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR;

BY RICHARD HURD, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

VOLUME THE THIRTEENTH.

(SUPPLEMENTAL.)

LONDON:

PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1841.

TO

THE DEAR AND HONOURED MEMORY

OF

MARY ELIZABETH,

RELICT OF THE LATE

REV. MARTIN STAFFORD SMITH,

THESE PAPERS,

CONSIGNED BY HER TO THE EDITOR,

ARE INSCRIBED,

AS A TESTIMONY OF VENERATION

FOR HER MEEK WISDOM AND PLACID VIRTUE,

AND OF AFFECTIONATE GRATITUDE

FOR A CONSIDERATE AND CONSISTENT FRIENDSHIP

OF THIRTY YEARS.

PREFACE.

In a copy of Bishop Warburton's Works deposited in the Library of Hartlebury Castle, his friend and biographer Bishop Hurd has inscribed the following appropriate passage from the Roman Critic, where he speaks of some eminent writers of his own time; "ad posteros virtus durabit, non perveniet invidia."* This vaticination of that acute and elegant writer respecting the literary character of his great friend, has been in a remarkable manner fulfilled. Though opinions are, and perhaps ever will be, divided as to the merits of the main argument of the Divine Legation, as well as of some other of his works; yet the storm of opposition with which they were met on their first publication has long since died away; and, however parties may differ about the leading subjects of those works, the genius and learning of

* Quinctil. Inst. Orat. III. 1.

their author are now generally allowed.* Nor is this otherwise than might have been anticipated. The irritation which excited such excesses of feeling and expression, arose from temporary causes; the excellencies on which Warburton's reputation is based are permanent. The causes of the opposition in question seem to have been two-fold — the natural defects of Warburton's temper, and his peculiar position as the acknowledged friend and correspondent of the able and learned, but sceptical Middleton. The former of these often betrayed his vigorous mind, conscious of its own powers, into arrogant claims of deference to its own views; and into a depreciation, generally supercilious and often unjust, of those who differed from him in opinion; which naturally excited correspondent exasperation of feeling and angry recrimination. The latter, taken in conjunction with the boldness of his theological speculations, not unreasonably threw suspicion on the soundness of his doctrinal views.

* The Editor remembers to have heard many years ago, with deep interest, a sermon from the University pulpit at Oxford, by the present Bishop of Llandaff, in which, with equal candour and discrimination, justice was done to the character both of the Bishop and of his great work.

The durable qualities on which Warburton's fame is established cannot be better expressed than in the just and nervous language of Dr. Johnson, which will carry the greater weight as being the testimony of one between whom and Bishop Warburton "mutual and strong dislike" is recorded by Mr. Boswell to have prevailed.

"He was a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, supplied, by incessant and unlimited inquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppressed his imagination nor clouded his perspicacity. To every work he brought a memory full-fraught, together with a fancy fertile of original combinations; and at once exerted the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit."

The public mind being thus in a position to form a candid judgment of the Bishop's character and writings, it is hoped that such of the following Papers as treat of theological subjects will meet with a favourable reception from both the advocates and opposers of his opinions. On those opinions the Editor does not consider himself competent to express a detailed judgment. He will, however, venture briefly to remark, that while on

the one hand he cannot see the danger which some have professed to find in the argument of the DIVINE LEGATION* (an argument, be it remembered, maintained, so far as regards the omission of a future state in the Law of Moses, by Grotius, Episcopius, Bishop Bull, and Arnauld); on the other he is strongly opposed to the want of deference for ecclesiastical antiquity, and the prominence given to the authority of private judgment, which run throughout the Bishop's works. It is his desire to offer to the Public the theological part of these Papers rather as *matters of literary curiosity* than as *sources of theological instruction*:

* The following important concession of the Bishop would seem effectually to meet the essential objections made to his theory:

"Though it appear that *a future state of rewards and punishments made no part of the Mosaic dispensation*, yet the LAW had certainly a SPIRITUAL meaning, to be understood when the fulness of time should come: and hence it received the nature, and afforded the efficacy of PROPHECY. In the interim the MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL was occasionally revealed by God to his chosen servants, the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation; and the dawning of it was gradually opened by the Prophets to the people; and * which is exactly agreeable to what our excellent Church in its SEVENTH ARTICLE *of Religion* teacheth concerning this matter."—Div. Leg. Book VI. Sec. 5.

* Sic; but query, "All."

and he begs that he may be considered as no way committed by any statements, whether of doctrine or discipline, which may be found in them. The same disclaimer he must record with regard to many sentiments and expressions in the Letters of the Bishop's Correspondents, particularly in one of Lord Lyttelton's, at page 202, where the defence of Protestantism against the Church of Rome is maintained in a singularly disingenuous manner. The Church of England can well afford to spare such ungenerous methods of controversial warfare: *Non tali auxilio, &c.*

On the whole, the Editor ventures to hope, that neither the literary nor moral character of Bishop Warburton will be compromised by the present publication; on the contrary, he has some confidence, that while the former may receive an accession of credit, the latter will be exhibited in a more amiable point of view than it has as yet appeared in.* In proof of this point he would refer to the letters of Bishop Hare, from which it appears, on the testimony of a calm and dispassionate witness, that the attacks made on Warburton's great work at its first appearance were of so out-

* Excepting, perhaps, in his correspondence with Dr. Doddridge.

rageous a character, as to palliate, though they may not excuse, the severity of his answers: and next, to the Bishop's fine Letter to Mr. Jane (page 168) which shows, that when addressed with Christian and gentlemanly courtesy, he knew how to reply even to the severest strictures on his works, as a Christian and a gentleman.

In conclusion, the Editor begs to offer his acknowledgments, first to his kind friends, and the other distinguished individuals, who have done him the honour to patronise his work: next to his respected publishers, for the care and judgment shown in carrying it through the press; and last, though not least, to the designer (his brother Edward Kilvert, of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford,) and engraver of the spirited sketch of Bishop Warburton and his Friends, which forms so conspicuous an ornament of it.

As it is hoped that this Publication may deserve to be considered as a supplemental volume to Bishop Warburton's Works, to which a masterly sketch of his Life, Character, and Writings, by his friend Bishop Hurd, is prefixed, it has not been

judged needful to give a biographical account of the Bishop, as it has been of his different Correspondents. A *complete* history of his literary life is still a desideratum. It may be gratifying to those who take an interest in the subject, to know that JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq. of Manchester, has long been collecting materials for such a Work.

Bath, Jan. 14, 1841.

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SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

OF THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES DEMONSTRATED.

[It has been judged advisable to prefix to the Fragments of the DIVINE LEGATION, and the Correspondence relative to that work, the following Summary of the entire Argument, in the words of the learned Author himself. See DIVINE LEGATION, Book VI. Sect. 6.—ED.]

IN reading the LAW and HISTORY of the Jews with all the attention I could give to them, amongst the many circumstances peculiar to that amazing Dispensation (from several of which, as I conceive, the divinity of its original may be fairly proved), these two particulars most forcibly struck my observation:—THE OMISSION OF THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE; and THE ADMINISTRATION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. As unaccountable as the first circumstance appeared when considered separately and alone; yet, when set against the other, and their mutual relations examined and compared, the

omission was not only well explained, but was found to be an invincible medium for the proof of the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES ; which, as unbelievers had been long accustomed to decry from this very circumstance, I chose it preferably to any other. The argument appeared to me in a supreme degree strong and simple, and not needing many words to enforce it, or, when enforced, to make it well understood.

RELIGION hath always been held necessary to the support of CIVIL SOCIETY, because human laws alone are ineffectual to restrain men from evil, with a force sufficient to carry on the affairs of public regimen; and, under the common dispensation of Providence, a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments is confessed to be as necessary to the support of RELIGION, because nothing else can remove the objections to God's moral government under a providence so apparently unequal; whose phænomena are apt to disturb the serious professors of RELIGION with doubts and suspicions concerning it, as it is of the essence of religious profession to believe that "*God is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.*"

Moses, who instituted a RELIGION and a REPUBLIC, and incorporated them into one another, stands single amongst ancient and modern lawgivers, in teaching a RELIGION, without the *sanction*, or even so much as the *mention*, of a FUTURE

STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS. The same Moses, with a singularity as great, by uniting the religious and civil community of the Jews into one incorporated body, made God, by natural consequence, their supreme civil magistrate, whereby the form of government arising from thence became truly and essentially a THEOCRACY. But as the *administration* of government necessarily follows its *form*, that before us could be no other than an EXTRAORDINARY OR EQUAL PROVIDENCE. And such indeed, not only the Jewish Lawgiver himself, but all the succeeding rulers and prophets of this republic, have invariably represented it to be. In the meantime, no lawgiver or founder of religion amongst any other people, ever promised so singular a distinction; no historian ever dared to record so remarkable a prerogative.

This being the true and acknowledged state of the case, whenever the unbeliever attempts to disprove, and the advocate of religion to support, the divinity of the Mosaic dispensation, the obvious question (if each be willing to bring it to a speedy decision) will be, "Whether the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE thus prophetically promised, and afterwards historically recorded to be performed, was REAL or PRETENDED only?"

We believers *hold* that it was REAL; and I, as an advocate for Revelation, undertake to *prove* it

was so; employing for this purpose, as my medium, "THE OMISSION OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS."

The argument stands thus:—If religion be necessary to civil government, and if religion cannot subsist under the common dispensation of Providence without a future state of rewards and punishments, so consummate a lawgiver would never have neglected to inculcate the belief of such a state, had he not been well assured that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE was indeed to be administered over his people; or were it possible he had been so infatuated, the impotency of a religion wanting a future state, must very soon have concluded in the destruction of his republic; yet, nevertheless, it flourished and continued sovereign for many ages.

These two proofs of the proposition ("*that an Extraordinary Providence was really administered,*") drawn from the THING OMITTED, and the PERSON OMITTING, may be reduced to the following SYLLOGISMS:

I. Whatever religion and society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an Extraordinary Providence:

The Jewish religion and society had no future state for their support; therefore,

The Jewish religion and society were supported by an Extraordinary Providence.

II. The ancient lawgivers universally believed

that a religion without a future state could be supported only by an Extraordinary Providence :

Moses, an ancient lawgiver, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (the principal branch of which wisdom was, inculcating the doctrine of a future state), instituted such a religion; therefore,

Moses believed that his religion was supported by an Extraordinary Providence.

The argument of the Divine Legation having been thus completed in six Books, the author, in order "*to remove all conceivable objections against the* CONCLUSION, and to throw in every collateral light *upon the* PREMISES," saw fit to add three more Books; of which,

The Seventh is employed in supporting the MAJOR and the MINOR propositions of the first syllogism; in a continued history of the religious opinions of the Jews, from the time of the earlier *prophets*, who first gave some dark intimations of a different dispensation, to the time of the Maccabees, when the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments was become national.

The Eighth Book is employed in supporting the MAJOR and MINOR propositions of the second syllogism, in which is considered the PERSONAL CHARACTER of Moses, and the GENIUS OF THE LAW, as far as it concerns or has a relation to the character of the lawgiver. Under this latter head is contained a full and satisfactory answer to those

who may object, "that a revealed religion, without a future state of rewards and punishments, is unworthy the Divine Author to whom it is ascribed."

The Ninth and last Book explains at large the nature and genius of the CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION.

The whole concludes with one general but distinct view of the entire course of God's universal economy from Adam to Christ. In which it is shown that, if Moses were indeed sent from God, *he could not teach* a future state, that doctrine being out of his commission, and reserved for HIM who was at the head of another dispensation, by which *life and immortality was to be brought to light.*

[Of the books of the DIVINE LEGATION above mentioned, the first Six were published in the Author's lifetime. The Ninth Book, though incomplete, was *printed* by the Author, but not published till after his death. The Seventh and Eighth Books, although materials for them had been collected, were never finished. The following Fragments of these, as well as what seems to be an Appendix to the Ninth Book, are now presented, it is believed for the first time, to the Public.—ED.]

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES.

BOOK VII.

CONTENTS.

Begin with the words of Lucullus, Acad. Qu. L. II. C. 15. "Cum duæ causæ," to "facere constitui,"—p. 108. Davis's edit.

The preceding volumes have shewn, that the early Jews were under an *Extraordinary Providence;* and secondly, that Moses did not teach nor had they the knowledge of a *Future State:* the first from the *express declarations* of their leader; the second from his profound silence.

Cavils against the *fact* in the first case;—against the *right* in the other.

I.

With regard to the *fact*, expose the illogical demand of those cavillers who expect to have the *fact* proved any other way than by the general syllogism of the Divine Legation.

The Pentateuch affirms that an extraordinary Providence was administered over that people. How shall we know whether it was real or pre-

tended? I pretend to decide the question by the *medium* of "*no future state*," in this manner:—No society, improved by civil policy, can subsist under the ordinary adminstration of Providence without the general knowledge and belief of a *future state* in the national religion: The Mosaic Dispensation had no future state, yet the society subsisted and flourished;—therefore, such society was supported by an Extraordinary Providence.

Now comes a man who saw nothing of the force of this reasoning, which proves the *fact* À PRIORI, and therefore thinks it incumbent on the author to prove it À POSTERIORI, and so raises many cavils against the proof *à posteriori*. He did not see (if he saw the proof *à priori*) that the proof *à priori* blunted all the edge, and took away all the force of his cavils, against the proof *à posteriori*, from marks of inequality in the history of the Jewish people. Yet this was the man who spent his whole life in debating *logically*. He did not say, (though he had some confused notion that he might say,) "If there be marks of *inequality*, it destroys your argument *à priori*. Yet all who understand what reason is, see that the argument *à priori*, when fairly deduced, as in the foregoing volumes, is a *solution* of the difficulty arising from the *marks of inequality* which are only *doubtful*, and are removed by the *opposite demonstration*."

However, *ex abundanti*, prove the *fact* à poste-

riori, in confuting the cant of Sykes against it, who, from appearances of inequality in the history, concludes against the declaration of Moses, that the Jews were under an Extraordinary Providence.

1. The Jewish History proves nothing against the express *declaration*, because the history is a very succinct and imperfect account, occasionally delivered, of the transactions of the republic, in which the writers seem to have the *proof* of Moses' declaration the least in their thoughts, as, from their feelings, entertaining no doubt of the nature of the Extraordinary Dispensation till many ages afterwards.—These only apparent marks.

2. The *real marks of inequality* arose from the *gradual decay* of the Extraordinary Providence explained in the foregoing volumes; so that these, instead of bearing against the *fact*, tend to support it.

They endeavour to come off with the distinction between Extraordinary Providence to the *state* and to particulars;—a proof that it extended to *particulars* from several passages in the Law and the Prophets.—The *leprosy* confutes the distinction.

II.

Removal of these cavils against the *fact* of an Extraordinary Providence, tends to establish the

right in the other case *of no future state.*—Here enlarge upon the reasoning I have urged to shew that the Mosaic religion having no future state, is no discredit to the divine original of it.

Proceed next to the history of the introduction of the doctrine of a future state into the national religion of the Jews.

It has been proved that the Jews had it not in the early times of the republic.—Yet they were possessed of it at the coming of Christ, and even long before.—This to be accounted for and explained, not so much to *reconcile* it to our capital position (to which it is not averse), as to *support and confirm* it.

From this we may safely conclude, that the mind must continue labouring, with more or less anxiety, till it settled in that state in which all people acquiesced who had only the *law of nature* for their guide, which made them conclude, that the . . . . . .

When the Jews had gone thus far, they would naturally have recourse to the *Books of their Law* to support the conclusions of natural reason.

These Books, after the return from their Captivity, were become invariably their guide; and from that time they no longer kept lapsing into idolatry.

NOTE.—[Various reasons assigned for this, both by believers and unbelievers.—Believers generally acquiesce in the reason given by Prideaux, *that they now began to read the Law in their synagogues.*—A mistake—the effect for the cause.—Practice of reading did not produce the adherence,—but adherence produced the practice.

Causes of adherence.—1. The smart of so long a captivity.—2. They began reading the Bible under growing improvements in science; their knowledge of the philosophic parts of Paganism; till now only acquainted with the *popular;* their knowledge that in the Gentile mysteries the one God was taught: this showed the folly of their former defections.—3. Their abhorrence of their enemies the Samaritans, who mixed Theism and Polytheism together.—4. Persecution.

The reason given by unbelievers of this prodigious *change* in their return from the Captivity is, that the Jews got juster notions of the Divine Nature in those countries to which they were led captive. In support of this reason, they give us Hyde's Fable of Zoroaster. Now, admitting this was no fable, yet the Jews would not seek in the Bible of Zoroaster what they found with more advantage in the Bible of Moses, and in the Comments of the Prophets, which give juster notions of the Divinity than the pretended books of Zoroaster. Zoroaster taught one God: Moses did more than this, to prevent idolatry, [alleging] that

this one God was a jealous God, who would not share his glory with another. That the Law was written after the Captivity deserves no answer. But the truth is, the Zoroastrian Books are a vile forgery; the Greeks knew nothing of them. They come down to us on the testimony of late Mahometan writers, and were forged since the time of Mahomet, and all written for the same purpose—to oppose to the Alcoran. The Mahometan writers, who were no critics, admitted their pretensions on the supposed good faith of the forgers. Marks of the imposture—Zoroaster left no writings.

Alcoran shows they had no Bible of Zoroaster. Origen, indeed, puts him in the number of those who left writings. See Spencer's Edit. of Orig. cont. Cels. p. 14. Eusebius shows that there was no book of his. That Hyde, who had as little penetration as the Mahometan writers, should be so deluded, is no wonder: the wonder was that Prideaux should. But he thought it would serve the cause of religion; and he thought that when he had persuaded infidels of the truth of this fable, he could easily bring them to believe that Zoroaster borrowed all from the Prophets. But they are not so easy of belief. *Fanciful supports of Revelation always productive of much mischief.*

Why these fancies are to be opposed.—1. Because the great reason for the separation much *weakened* by such a fancy.—2. Because it would

contradict the Prophets, who say, the one God was publicly worshipped no where but in Judea alone. The not distinguishing between the *private teaching* and the *public worship* of one God, made Cudworth, Stillingfleet, and Newton grossly mistake in this matter. They cherished this mistake for the reason (we have shown) Prideaux cherished his about Zoroaster; namely, because it might serve religion. Great disservice; which will always be the case where error is employed to serve truth. In a word, the Jews got nothing by their captivity, but by turning their punishment to their profit by a lasting repentance. On the return, they found they had lost a great deal. Extr. Provid. how they were affected by it, Book of Job shows. Yet that rather to teach them humility and submission than to instruct them. The reason the Jewish Prophets did not teach them life and immortality, that belonged to another dispensation. So the writer does not decide, but leaves the two parties in possession of their opinions; resolves all into the unsearchable counsels of God.]

See the progress of the doctrine. At first the denial of future state no heresy; Sadducees not excommunicated; afterwards were; and this was natural in a doctrine deduced from Scripture with so much difficulty, and from Paganism with so much secresy. The Jewish Church, first content with it as a truth, afterwards contending for it as

a *necessary* truth; for, after the coming of Christ, they found no other way of defending the Jewish religion against the Gospel, as perfect and independent, but by maintaining that it taught a future state. Strongest argument brought by Orobio for it against Limberch, for no complete dispensation, is, that the Jews had a future state.

Read Dassovius.

Jesus' treatment of the two sects explained: severe to the Pharisees, more gentle to the Sadducees. Of the Sadducees he only says, "*they do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God*," and taking silence for denial. The Pharisees much worse, who by their traditions had made void the Law; departed from the genius of it so far as to supersede the power of the Gospel. The Sadducees adhered to the genius of the Law; found no future state; and so showed the use and necessity of the Gospel. What they erred in was, mistaking the silence of the Law for a denial of it.

The temper likewise that Jesus observed with regard to the doctrine of the two parties is very remarkable. *Life and immortality being brought to light by the Gospel*, his point was to show to the Pharisees that the Law did not teach it; and against the Sadducees that the Law did not oppose it. First to the Pharisees against their traditions; then to the Sadducees by the admirable reasoning on the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

See what P. Simon says of Jesus' argument, "I am the God," &c. in his answer to the "Sentimens," p. 245.

The Pharisees made not only the *Law* but the Gospel void by their *traditions*.

Recapitulation.—Shown how the Jews got the doctrine of a future state; useful for the support of my main argument.

BOOK VIII.

The Pentateuch of Moses' composition. Read Le Clerc. One internal proof, no future state; one external, Samaritan Pentateuch. Character of Moses and the people from the Pentateuch. Character of Moses. No fanatic, proved from his temper, mild and diffident; from his Egyptian education, in which every thing was done by prescribed legal forms, which damps all fanatical flights.

Though a fanatic, this would not have hindered but forwarded a future state. Mahomet, though a fanatic, long enough in the wilderness to cure him of it. Fumes of fanaticism wear off.

A fanatic might imagine an Extraordinary Providence; but this, so far from excluding a future state, that it would naturally bring it in, as it did among ancient legislators; nay, necessarily, for a pretence of Extraordinary Providence could only be supported by future state.

Suppose him a cool impostor,—still more improbable that he should expose the pretence to Extraordinary Providence by not covering it with a future state. He knew the use of a future state to society in general, and particular use to his people. Easy reception. Odin. Mahomet. Moses, if not acting by commission, mad to reject a future state, though pretending to Extraordinary Providence; because religion and society cannot subsist without it, as he had been taught by his Egyptian politics. Ancient legislators pretended to the same. All taught a future state. He bound this doctrine of Extraordinary Providence still stricter on the expectations of the people by a theocracy; for by this he made an Extraordinary Providence an equal one.

This not all; he exposed his pretence to detection, by many dangerous and heavy institutions, without occasion.—Sabbatic year; the annual repair to Jerusalem; leprosy.

Besides, the pretence more desperate in their circumstances; secluded from all others in the wilderness. Different thing in the commerce of the world, for mutual aid supports the pretence.

The reasoning of the Divine Legation has at least had this effect, that it seems to have now become the general opinion, both of believers and unbelievers, that Moses did not teach a future state; nor is it to be found in his Law.

And both have attempted to discover the reason of the omission.

Unbelievers, (by the mouth of Lord B.) Moses ignorant of the doctrine. That he could not dis envelope from fables.

Believers, that he had no need to teach what was known before. This true had he not pretended to a divine mission; false as he did.

2. Not a proper occasion, as a system of laws. This not true. The principal system was a system of religion; the laws only for the sake of the religion. If only a system of laws, that no reason. We find it in the ancient systems of laws both practical and speculative. See Divine Legation, vol. I.

3. The people headstrong, that future things would not work upon.

APPENDIX TO THE NINTH BOOK

OF THE

DIVINE LEGATION.

What I undertook in this volume was, to deliver my thoughts concerning the NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. This I have now done; but as the immediate occasion of my design was to strengthen and support the idea I had given of the *nature of the Mosaic religion* (on which idea I erected my Moral Demonstration of the Divine Legation of Moses), this discourse concerning the Christian religion had not answered its purpose had I not, in the conclusion of it, turned my eye particularly towards the support of that *moral demonstration;* not as the completion of an *unfinished argument* (into which odd mistake many of my inattentive readers had unluckily fallen); but as the illustration only of an argument long since finished and complete in all its parts. This hath been shown and explained in the last section of the sixth Book, to which I again refer such of those readers whom the multiplicity of its parts, delivered by long intervals, may have led into the mistake; though an argument in itself so clear and strong as to be reduced to a single syllogism.

There are few believers, perhaps, who do not see, in the gross, that JUDAISM and CHRISTIANITY are intimately connected and related; yet the *Mosaic religion* having been, as the Apostle says, for wise purposes of Providence thrust in * between the *natural law* first given by God, and his last revealed will, committed to the *ministry of Jesus*, that connexion between Judaism and Christianity hath not been so precisely understood by many as might have been expected.

By the first revelation to mankind in Paradise, ETERNAL LIFE was promised, on the condition of obedience. It was lost by disobedience; and DEATH, in consequence thereof, was denounced on the human race. In this condition did mankind lie when Moses had his commission to deliver the *second revealed Will of God* to the posterity of Abraham, who still continued, with the rest of mankind, under the curse or punishment of *death*; so far lightened, indeed, by the *law of nature* (which operated throughout every part of the moral dispensation), by that law's teaching *that God would reward for obedience and punish for disobedience*. Hence we see that the sanction of the Law of Moses must needs be the same with the sanction of the law of nature.

The later Jews especially thought, indeed, that their LAW had redeemed its followers from the

* Gal. ii. 19.

curse denounced on Adam and his posterity; and so considered it as a perfect Law in opposition to Christianity.

But the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells another story.* "The Law (says he) *made nothing perfect:* it was *the bringing in of a* BETTER HOPE which effected this." The Jew, then, was ready to ask, as Saint Paul tells us he did, "*Wherefore then serveth the Law?*" The Apostle answers, "*It was added* (or thrust in between the promise to Abraham and the performance by Jesus Christ) *because of transgressions, till the Seed should come to whom the promise was made;*"† *i. e.* it was added in order to restrain vice and immorality. For though *eternal life* was the reward of faith in Jesus Christ, yet, as we have shown, none were entitled to that reward but those who had a right to some reward by the law of nature, some provision was first to be made for that previous qualification. So much order and harmony will be always found in the ordinances of God.

And this may be no improper place to reprove the folly of those objectors, who say that a Revelation which did not teach a future state could not come from God.

The reasons they give are these:

* Heb. vii. 19. † Gal. ii. 19.

1. Because a future state is essential to all true religion.
2. Because a religion without a future state infringes on the attributes of the Deity.

1. To the first objection (for I am now reasoning on the principles of believers) I answer, and say, that the first notice we have of a state teaching immortal life, is from *revealed religion*, given to man in Paradise; by which it was bestowed on the condition of obedience to God's declared will. Man disobeyed, and forfeited this gift, and so was brought back, and became a second time the subject of natural religion. The state of mortality or DEATH prevailed over all, under which he still continued even after God had communicated his *revealed will* to the posterity of Abraham by the ministry of Moses. If therefore Moses did indeed receive his religion from heaven, it could not contain but by accident the doctrine of a future state; for Adam's forfeiture was not yet remitted.

And this leads us to a solution of the second objection, that a religion without a future state infringes on the attributes of the Deity.

The truth or reason on which this assertion is founded stands on a mistaken supposition, that when man was confined to God's moral government *here*, Providence was unequally dispensed as at present. In this case, indeed, the cutting off a future state would render the second objection of some force. But this was not the case; for when man

lost immortal life by his disobedience, and became subject to death or mortality, the dispensation of God's Providence *here* was equal, and nothing was wanted to be set right *hereafter.* If the loss of *immortality,* and subjection to death and mortality, will not give God's government credit for this truth, the history of Moses expressly informs us of the contrary, and assures us, that in the *early ages* of the world, God's Providence in his government of man was equal. This appears from the history of the Patriarchs; the great deluge; the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah; the history of Abraham and his posterity till their settlement in Egypt, when they soon forgot *their God,* and on that account were reduced to the *unequal* administration of Providence, as the Gentiles were about the same period, and for the same cause. But when Moses was sent to lead the Israelites into Canaan, and to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, the *equal* Providence was restored to them, not as a mere peculiarity of the Jewish republic (in which light, indeed, our argument on the *Divine Legation* confined us to consider it), but as the general dispensation of Providence to man, while he preserved the memory of the true God. The confined view of it in that argument led the opposers of the Divine Legation of Moses, who considered an equal Providence as only proper to the Jewish republic, to acknowledge that an equal Providence (because so incessantly

affirmed by Moses) did indeed operate over the state, but extended not to particulars. A mistake which, now we are come to a more enlarged view of the case, is easily confuted. For if an equal Providence followed the condition of man under the denunciation of death and mortality, as it certainly did, conformably to our ideas of the Divine attributes, then this equal Providence, not being administered *primarily* or *principally* for the sake of societies, but for the sake of individuals, we must conclude that the equal Providence of which Moses spoke so much must needs extend to particulars, though, in his history of that republic, the memory of it was chiefly preserved as it affected the state.

All this will remove a difficulty frequently objected to the argument of the Divine Legation, that it is hard to conceive that the Jewish religion, given from God by the ministry of Moses, should want the doctrine of a *future state*, at the time when the Gentiles taught it in all their national religions. The solution of this difficulty is easy, and serves to confirm the argument of the *Divine Legation.*

We have observed, the Providence of God was equally dispensed to the children of men while they retained the memory of the true God; but when they lost that, and fell into universal idolatry, and that established in their national religions, the equal Providence was withdrawn. But

a religion could not long subsist which was seen to violate the moral attributes of the Deity. And religion under an unequal Providence, without a future state, was seen to imply such a violation. The Gentiles, therefore, as soon as this evil was observed, had recourse to the principles of *natural religion*, which, in this state of things, taught a future state. But at this time the Jews, by their having recovered the knowledge of the true God, enjoyed an equal Providence; and while they did so they were not driven, in order to preserve the moral attributes of the Deity, to have recourse to the doctrine of a *future state*: being at the same time withheld from such recourse by their reverence to the Law, which forbad their adding to it, especially this addition, which would not have quadrated with that revelation denounced on man at the fall, inflicting mortality and death on the human race, exclusive of a *future state*. The consequence of this was, that (in order to save the moral attributes) it brought on an *equal Providence*, under the limitations above mentioned. Such order, consistency, and harmony there is in the Divine dispensations! It was not till a long time after that the Jews lost this *equal Providence*: and when they did, though not for the same cause that the Gentiles lost it, namely, their losing memory of the true God; for at the time the *equal Providence* was drawn from them (which was not till the return from the Captivity) they adhered

more constantly to the Law than ever: but they were deprived of it in part for their innumerable past transgressions, and in part to prepare them for a more perfect dispensation.

And as soon as they came (like the Gentiles) under this *unequal dispensation*, they had, as the Gentiles had before them, recourse to a *future state* for the support of religion; in which support they had advantages superior to the Gentiles by the Law of Moses: for though that taught no future state, yet, by giving more precise ideas of the attributes of the Godhead, and thereby regulating their notions of what natural religion taught concerning that matter, it taught them more steadily, when reduced to an unequal Providence like their neighbours, what to think of a future state.

But to be more particular on this important subject. The former volumes brought down the administration of the Jewish economy to the time of the return from the *Captivity*, when the decay of the Extraordinary Providence began to occasion anxious doubts concerning God's accustomed care of his chosen people: and the final withdrawing of that administration of Providence, which soon followed, introduced for their consolation the doctrine of a *future state* amongst them, as we have observed it had done amongst the Gentiles; and by the aid of the same principles of the religion of nature (preserved purer amongst them than amongst the Gentiles), with this difference, that

the Jews, in reverence to their Law, endeavoured to find it there likewise.

But before this, in their first anxious state of doubt after the Captivity, and immediately before the equal Providence was totally withdrawn, one of their later Prophets, in order to allay the tumultuous workings of the human mind under this state, wrote (as I have shown) the story of the Book of Job for their consolation, which was to be sought for in a pious submission and resignation to the unsearchable ways of God. For at this precise juncture they were neither to be encouraged, as they had been by Moses, with an *Extraordinary Providence* in their favour; nor, on the other hand, to be instructed by the Prophets of the Law in the doctrine of life and immortality,—a doctrine reserved for the ministers of Jesus. A cheerful resignation of themselves into the hands of God was the only means left for the catastrophe of this dramatic story; where the one party maintained the continuance of the *Extraordinary Providence* as it was administered in the early times of the Republic, and the other party contended for a different administration, unsupported by a *future state.*

If it be asked, how, at the time which I assign for the writing of the Book of Job, namely, after the return from the *Captivity,* there could be two opinions concerning this matter? I answer, that they know little of the human frame who can be-

lieve that even the clearest evidence of the change of the mode in administering Providence would immediately remove the strong and inveterate prejudices which had arisen out of an old and experienced truth, of a nature so important and interesting.

But what degree of content or satisfaction this *solution*, given by the Prophet in the name of God [afforded], or how long it continued to have its designed effect, we know not.

History, as it could in its nature afford but little intelligence concerning the time of the first *establishment* of a new doctrine of human invention, is silent; because such establishment comes on by slow degrees. From hence, however, we may reasonably conclude, that the mind of this people must continue labouring under more or less anxiety concerning the mode of God's moral government, till it settled in that state in which the Gentiles acquiesced under an *unequal Providence*, whom the *law of nature*, which was their only guide, taught to conclude that the inequalities of Providence which they observed here would be set right hereafter.

The adversaries of the Divine Legation and I differ only in this: I say that the Jews had not recourse to this consolation till the time I assign for it, which was long after the Gentiles were in possession of it. My adversaries think this absurd, and for that very reason. They are supported in

their opposition to me by the opinion of two very eminent men, who scarce agree in any thing besides; and in this too they take different roads to prove their point. M. Le Clerc, of Amsterdam, having said, "*it seems altogether absurd to suppose that the Pagans had the knowledge of another life besides this, many ages before the people of God spoke of any such thing:*" attempts to prove that the Jews had the doctrine of a future state even from the most early times: and to support which point, he gives a spiritual sense to the passages of Scripture from whence that doctrine may, he thinks, be deduced. Père Simon goes another way to work. He gives a *literal* and more natural sense to the same passages; and concludes, that in Scripture the doctrine of a future state is not to be found; and therefore adds, "We do not see clearly in Scripture that the Jews spoke of another life till after the dominion of the Greeks." Yet the common opinion that the Jews always had this doctrine was not to be parted with; and therefore he goes on thus: "It was, indeed, at this time that the Jews began to talk with precision and the utmost clearness of this matter. The truth of the doctrine was preserved amongst them till then by the sole virtue of TRADITION." This was an arch fetch in Father Simon to support the opinion that he and the Protestant Doctor had in common, concerning the antiquity of a future state amongst the Jews, by a Popish

TRADITION, the virtue of which the Protestant Doctor could never allow; who therefore sticks to his spiritualizing scheme, and haughtily confesses, that there is nothing in Scripture which can appear with the utmost clearness to those who are not perfect masters of the Hebrew tongue. But the reasoning of our Lord against the Sadducees makes it sufficiently evident, that those who understand it well, feel in the expressions that which everybody does not feel at present. But did not the Sadducees *know the Hebrew tongue to the bottom?* Yet from that knowledge they could not collect the truth of a future state, till Jesus enforced it upon them, not from any more profound knowledge of that tongue, but from a logical deduction, till then unperceived by them. [See what I say of it in the Divine Legation.] Le Clerc might have seen, which I suppose Père Simon did see, that throughout the whole historic part of Scripture it does not appear that any one ever acted on, or was influenced by the doctrine of a *future state*. From this I concluded that they had not that doctrine; and so would these two disputants likewise, had they not cast behind them a truth which I always had in mind, namely, that which was so incessantly inculcated by Moses, that his people were under an *equal Providence*, which prevented their standing in need of this contested doctrine; and what they needed not, the principles on which the Jewish Revelation was erected hindered them from

attending to. As soon as they needed it, they had recourse to the principles of natural religion, which always accompanied the revealed; and these led them, as it did the Pagans, to the belief of a future state.

In the firmer establishment of this doctrine the Jews had aids which the Gentiles wanted.

1. Their knowledge of the One true GOD (which the Pagans wanted), purified and perfected their ideas of the religion of nature. For on the attributes of the Deity, the firmest assurance of a *future state* was erected.

2. By the aid of the Mosaic religion; for though, for the reason given above, they got the doctrine of a future state later than the Gentiles, yet when they were possessed of it, and by the same arguments which natural religion offered to the Gentiles, their belief was further supported by the genius of the Mosaic religion; first by an erroneous interpretation, indeed, but easily fallen into, of their more *early* Prophets; and then by a right interpretation of the *later*.

Their earlier Prophets, whose more constant subject was the restoration of their republic to its ancient splendour, when the case seemed most desperate by the Pagan inroads upon it, at the time of their impending captivity.* This they predicted figuratively, but by the most natural of all figures, the restoration of the human body to life,

* Sic.

after it had been dissolved by death:—the most illustrious of which is the vision of the *dry bones* in Ezekiel. This, though evidently only a prophesy of the restoration of the Jewish republic, they falsely interpreted, having now got the idea of a future state, to signify the revival of the human body to life.

In the same class of mistaken interpretation I do not hesitate to put the prophesy of Daniel xii. 2. "*And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.*" This, it is true, hath been generally interpreted of a *future state* both by Jews and Christians. But Houbigant, the latest and the most rational and profound of these interpreters, in his comment on this text, supposes it to relate to another thing, namely to the restoration of the Jewish republic, as plainly as the parable of the *dry bones;* since the context shews the subject to be the same in both, viz. that *restoration.* Grotius was, for the same reason, of the same opinion; but, according to his wont, supposes it to mean a *future state* in its secondary sense; and very reasonably, as the new dispensation was now about to begin and disclose itself. And what particularly favours Grotius's opinion of this secondary sense, which was not instantly to be revealed with the utmost clearness, is, the direction Daniel received, to "*shut up these words and to seal the book, even* to the

time of the end, when many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."*

But it is worth remarking, that these mistaken interpretations led the Jews to an important truth which the Gentiles never dreamed of, that is to say, THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY, first revealed by Jesus.

To proceed. The right interpretation which the Jews gave to the predictions of their later prophets, still helped them forward in this fundamental truth, the belief of a *future state*, in their predictions of a new and more perfect dispensation.

Isaiah says, "*Behold, I create* NEW HEAVENS *and a* NEW EARTH; and *the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.*"†—The Prophet goes on to declare that the SANCTION should be changed,—the necessary consequence of the change of the dispensation.—"*There shall be no more thence an infant of days: . . . . . for the child shall die an hundred years old, but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed*;"‡ i. e. the sanction of temporal rewards and punishments shall be no longer administered in an extraordinary manner. For we must remember, that long life for obedience, and sudden and untimely death for transgressions, bore an eminent part in the sanction of the Jewish law.

* Daniel, xii. 4. † Isaiah, lxv. 17. ‡ Ibid. v. 20.

Jeremiah too, like Isaiah, fixes the true nature of this dispensation, by declaring the change of the SANCTION: "*In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge**;"—for it was part of the *sanction* of the Jewish law, that children should bear the iniquity of their fathers. [See this explained, BOOK . . Sect. . .]

"*Behold the days come, saith the Lord* (by the same prophet), *that I will make a* NEW COVENANT *with the House of Israel*†." For the Jews having explained the prophesies which concerned the restoration of their fallen republic, to signify the resurrection of the natural body dissolved by death; this wrong interpretation of one prophesy led them to a right one in another, namely, that which predicted the change of the dispensation, though delivered in the figurative language of *a new Heaven* and *a new Earth*, which change from carnal to spiritual was clearly intimated by these words: "*My thoughts are not as your thoughts*, (saith the Lord,) *for as the Heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts*‡." But this at the same time must be observed, that these interpretations, as well the false as the true,

* Jeremiah, xxxi. 29, 30. † Ibid. 31. ‡ Isaiah, lv. 8. 9.

of which the false led to the true, were not made till after the expiration of the Extraordinary Providence, and much later than the times that the Gentiles had established amongst themselves the doctrine of a *future state*. For, to repeat again what has been observed before, while they continued under an Extraordinary Providence, the Mosaic religion did not need the doctrine of a future state for its support; and what it did not need would not be brought into a dispensation, which was a continuance of the scheme which followed the FALL.

But the Jews, not content with those surer guides the Holy Scriptures, which brought in amongst them the doctrine of a future state, even when wrongly interpreted, sought for further support of it in gentile philosophy, which they now became acquainted with, and soon became fond of their fanciful speculations.

We have observed, that they sought for and found in the doctrine of a *future state* in general, the defence of the divine attributes. But their pagan metaphysics made them fancy that more was required for this defence, namely, the belief of a *prior state*, which brought into credit the Pythagorean metempsychosis. And in this form and condition, was that *prior state* interwoven into the national doctrine of another life, from the time of writing the books of the Maccabees and the other apocryphal books, so that at the appearance

of Christ, the prior state was on the same foot of credit with the future.

These speculations made a great change in the . . . . . * of the Jewish religion, and introduced sects or schools of various principles amongst them. But these being evidently seen not to make part of the law, and their date and rise being evidently traced, they did not, like the pagan sects before them, reprobate one another, or like the Christian sects after them, on their first rise, reprobate or damn one another. Afterwards, indeed, when by force of fanciful speculation they believed these doctrines to be contained in Scripture, they did, as the pagans in their schools had done before them—who had a wider range to distinguish between truth and falsehood,—grew as earnest as they were, and as the Christians did after them, who found these dogmata in truth in the religion of Christ. But this was not till after the perfect establishment of the doctrines in question ; and then a resurrection from the dead, which the Sadducees might at first deny with impunity, . . . * were afterwards accursed for holding.

These four sects, which continued in communion with one another, (for the reason given above, because they found nothing of them in the law,) were the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenians, and the Herodians, of which we shall at present have occasion only to give a very succinct account.

* Sic in MS.

[*To face the Autographs.*

" I am not ashamed to confess, that I have much pleasure in looking at the handwriting of any very remarkable person. If this sort of curiosity is childish, it is at any rate so general, that one may be well excused for sharing it. AUTOGRAPHS, AND FAC-SIMILES OF AUTOGRAPHS, *are seen with great interest, even when they consist only of a signature, or a few indifferent words.*"—LETTERS OF THE EARL OF DUDLEY TO THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF, Letter XX. p. 121.

To yours of the 26th I will say no more than that it is just like your selfe, warm friendly and generous. Whatsoever benefit the Bp may receive by your good will to him, I shall be sure to receive a great deal of honour, wherever it is known that you employed your interest out of regard to me.

I am, my dear Friend, with the truest affection, your obliged and most faithfull humble Servant

W. Warburton

Be so good to let the Commissary know that I have no thoughts of visiting this year. So the Archdeacon's may go on as usual.

I am my dear Friend your most affectionate and faithfull humble Servt

W. Gloucester

Grosv.r Square
Jan 28, 1760

J. Nethercoft fac sim

Dear Sr,
Your most faithful friend & servant
Jr. Aiest.

Bp Tore.

I am Sr
Yr most humble Servt
London. Oct 3. 1758. J Gordon

Sir
Yr most Obedient Humble Servt
G Lyttelton

Montesquieu

I am Revd Sr
your aff: Br & humble Servt
Tho: Sarum.

Bp Sherlock

I am, my Lord,
with all Esteem & Duty
Yr Affte Servant Lau: Sterne

your obliged & faithful
humble Servt
Chas. Yorke.

Nether ... facsim.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATIVE TO THE

DIVINE LEGATION

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATIVE TO THE DIVINE LEGATION.

THE REV. W. WARBURTON TO ————

BEFORE I enter on the matters in question, I will beg leave to premise this general observation, that these objectors, by their arguments, seem to suppose my thesis to be, that Moses not only did not teach, but likewise did not *believe* a future state; otherwise why am I urged with the *spiritual* meaning of his law? This must be owing, either to great prevarication or inattention to my subject. For my professed design to prove his law divine, and to prove Christianity to be built upon it, necessarily supposes his belief of a future state.

As to the answer Abraham is made to give to the rich man in torments, Luke, xvi. 31, "If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead," these objectors seem quite to mistake the whole drift and turn of the argument. Had this parable been made to the Sadducees, who denied a resurrection, and the rich man represented as a

Sadducee, who was too late informed of his error, and wanted to undeceive his father's house, which his evil doctrines had misled, there had been some ground for the inference they would draw from the text.

On the contrary, the parable is expressly directed to the *Pharisees*, the great maintainers and supporters of a future state, as you will see in my next volume. The common rules, then, of interpretation, show us, that what the rich man's brethren wanted to be confirmed in was, that God was, indeed, that severe punisher of luxury and uncharitableness; not that there was a future state: and this the rich man thought would be best done by a miracle, "If one went unto them from the dead, they will repent," to which the reply of Abraham is admirable, and to this effect, "If they will not hear Moses and the Prophets, whose authority they acknowledge, and whose missions were confirmed by so many miracles, they will not regard this miracle of the resurrection of a dead man; [for did the Pharisees repent the more for the resurrection of that Lazarus, namesake to this in the parable?] Now Moses and the prophets have denounced the most severe threatenings, on the part of God, against vice." This is the force of the argument; and you see the question of a future state is no more concerned in it than thus far, that God will punish either here or hereafter. Moses and the Prophets threatened

the punishment *here;* and *here* it was long inflicted on the Jews, living under the dispensation of an Extraordinary Providence. When that ceased, the Jews began to entertain reasonable hopes of another life, where all inequalities should be set even, and God's threats and promises to them fulfilled. But more of this in my next volume.

John, v. 39, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." The argument stands thus against the unbelieving Pharisees, "The Scriptures, (says Jesus,) I affirm to you, and am ready to prove, testify of me. What reason, then, have you to reject me? Surely it is not because I have brought life and immortality to light; for you yourselves interpret several passages in those Scriptures in a spiritual sense, to signify the promise of eternal life, as particularly Deuteronomy, xxxiii. 27."

But not only the force of the reasoning, but the grammatical sense of the words [*you think you have*] show that, concerning Moses' teaching eternal life, he argues *ad hominem*, and refers to their spiritual interpretation of texts: which is further confirmed from hence, that when he argues with the Sadducees, who received the five books of Moses, he quotes or refers to no such passages so interpreted, but uses, as we shall see, another kind of argument.

Acts, xxvi. 22, 23. The reflections on the preceding text will perfectly clear up this. St. Paul here tells us, that, "*after the most strictest sect of his religion, he lived a Pharisee;*"* and like them he interpreted Moses and the prophets, concerning Jesus and a resurrection, in a spiritual sense; which sense I as much believe and reverence as these objectors. But what objection it is to my thesis, we shall now examine, as it comes the next in order.

That the law was spiritual they appeal to Romans, vii. 14; that is, had a spiritual meaning. This I allow; and what is more, only desire this to establish my thesis. The objectors, as well as I, suppose that the Jewish and Christian religions are two dependent parts of one grand dispensation. Now St. Paul tells us the order of this dispensation, 1st Corinthians, xv. 46, "that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterwards that which is spiritual." Nay, these very divines tell us, that the reason why Moses did not teach a future state *plainly*, as Christ did, was, because the Jews were a carnal people, incapacitated for spiritual things. The consequence from all this is evident, that the spiritual sense was reserved for better times. These divines own further, that only temporal rewards and punishments were *expressly* promised;

* Acts, xxvi. 5.

and that these promises were fulfilled, the Jews living for some time under an extraordinary dispensation. Would not this, then, confine those Jews to the literal sense? This dispensation after the captivity ceased; and then they would, and then they did, excogitate the spiritual sense. Is not here the strongest demonstration of the truth of my scheme?

But, contrary to the order of things, contrary to Scripture, contrary to their own systems, they will now have it, that this spiritual sense always went along with the literal; which is so strangely absurd, that it takes away the very ground and reason of two senses; for if they were always capable of a spiritual sense, what occasion for a carnal one, this *Schoolmaster* (as St. Paul calls it), *to bring us to Christ?* but let us hear their reasons:

The first is from Hebrews, iv. 2, "*For unto us was the Gospel preached, as well as unto them.*" This argument is founded on as errant a quibble as ever disgraced reason. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is here showing that the promise of coming into the land of Canaan was a type of Christ's promise of eternal life. "But," says he, "we see the Israelites could not enter into that land, because of unbelief. It behoves us, therefore, who have the promise of a heavenly country, of which Canaan was a type, to fear, lest the same cause of unbelief should occa-

sion our miscarriage; for we have the promise of the kingdom of heaven [*unto us was the Gospel preached*], given us by Christ, even as they had the promise of the kingdom of Canaan [*as well as unto them*], given by Moses." This is the sense of the passage; in which there is not the least intimation that the Jews had any *Gospel truths* preached to them, but the contrary; Ευαγγελίζομαι, the word here used, signifying any glad tidings or revelation of God's will published to man. This is the sense here, though it be frequently used to signify the having the Gospel preached.

The second is from viii. 5. Priests who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God, when he was about to make the tabernacle. Could these objectors find a passage which tells us, that, as *Moses was admonished of God* about the spiritual sense, so he admonished the people, it would be to some purpose. But what objection is it to my scheme, or to anything I have said above, that Moses was admonished of God about the spiritual sense of the law? I all along suppose and contend for this truth, in contending for the divinity of his mission. For if Abraham *desired to see Christ's day, and saw it, and was glad*, can we suppose that Moses, who had a higher office in the ministry of God's dispensations, should be denied this favour? But then, though these, I say, be my sentiments of Moses'

illumination, this text is ill produced to prove it; the meaning of the words is very different from what these objectors apprehend. They suppose the sense to be, "that the priests served unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, and that this truth that they did so, was revealed to Moses;" whereas, the words, *As Moses was admonished of God*, are a similitude or comparison that conveys a quite different sense, and to this purpose: "the Priests that offer gifts according to the law, serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, in as exact and close a manner as that tabernacle which Moses was admonished of God to make, answered to the pattern of it shown to him by God in the mount." Not only the argument the Apostle is upon, but the exact propriety of the word "χρηματίζω," requires this sense, which signifies the directions or commands of an oracle, or a magistrate, to do anything in the manner laid down. This "χρηματισμὸς," or command and direction, we find in Exodus, xxv. 40, "And look that thou make them after this pattern, which was showed thee in the Mount."

They ask next, in what the image of God in Adam consisted? They suppose, without doubt, in his having an immaterial soul. I say, it could not, and for this plain reason,—according to the best philosophy, it is proved that man has an immaterial soul; but those arguments employed to

prove this, prove at the same time, that every animal has an immaterial soul (and this without any hurt to religion) likewise. An immaterial soul, then, being common to all, and it being something peculiar to man in which consisted this image of God, it could not be his immaterial soul. The only two things peculiar to man, are his shape and his reason. None but an anthropomorphite can say it is the first; it must therefore be reason that made him in the image of God; and so this difficulty is solved.

But what is the meaning of the tree of life? To deduce the Jews' belief of a future state from their belief of the story of the tree of life, is an argument of a very singular cast. For the Scripture that tells them of this tree of life, tells them that Adam and all his posterity forfeited all benefit from it; and that it was guarded from their intrusion by cherubim and a flaming sword. This surely should rather make them disbelieve a future state. The reason for the prohibition of murder is answered above. As to Abel's faith, we shall clear up that matter presently. As to Enoch's translation, that alone could no more make them expect a future state, than it could make them expect to be translated in the manner he was. Besides, this story is related in so obscure a manner as makes it evident the writer did not intend thereby to inculcate the notion of a future state. Elijah's translation is much plainer told, and for

reasons I shall explain in my book; but neither from this could they reasonably collect the future state of man in general, as I there show from the notions and opinions of the ancient world. As to the phrases, "they were gathered to their fathers," "slept with their fathers," they are merely Eastern figurative expressions, and very beautiful ones too, to signify death, and being buried in family sepulchres, as was the custom of antiquity.

But now we come to the famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews. This is their palmary argument. I have been urged with this, you may be sure, very often; nay, I have been told that some certain people of consequence are assured that I intend, first of all, to endeavour to overthrow the authority of this Epistle, that lies so terribly in my way; but they know, it seems, more of my scheme than I do. It is in vain to tell them that I shall be so far from endeavouring to overthrow the authority of it, that I shall employ this very chapter as a convincing proof of the truth of my whole system. To understand this matter aright, we are to observe, that the disciples of Christ preached up faith, as that which was to entitle to everlasting life. This shocked the Jews, who were all along taught that whatever rewards they were to expect from God, it was for their works, or for the observation of his commands. The writer of this Epistle, then, having to combat this prejudice, endeavours to show them that it was faith and not

works, that made the patriarchs before the giving of the law, and the prophets after, acceptable to God; and instances in many particulars quite throughout. But now, what faith does the writer mean? We shall err egregiously if we think it was that which Christians call faith, "κάτ' ἐξοχήν," namely, the belief in the Messiah. No, the faith there meant quite throughout, is the believing God's revelations or promises to them whatever they were, or in whatever degree. For can any one believe that Abraham's faith and Rahab's were the same? But to show what I say with the utmost evidence, let us compare these two places together, v. 33, "who through faith obtained promises," and v. 39, "and these all having obtained a good report through faith received not the promises." In the first verse we see that promises were made to these several holy men, and we know from the Scriptures these were of several kinds, according to their states or circumstances; and the obtaining those promises was the reward of their faith. But what faith? why, full assurance that God would make good those promises. But that these promises were not the promises of the redemption of mankind by Christ, is plain from the other text, "all these received not the promises," meaning those. But men have no faith in what is not promised; therefore the faith mentioned quite throughout this chapter, is not

the Faith, but faith and confidence in God's veracity in general. It is true, that in this chapter the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are said to "desire a better country, that is, a heavenly;" and I am far from denying that the holy men of old amongst the Jews, greatly favoured by God, had intimations of redemption by Christ. All that I am concerned to show is, that the general body of the Jews during the Theocracy had not. And, by good luck, we have this very writer affirming this truth; for, after having recapitulated the faith of particulars, and shown that some had some knowledge of Christ's day, he turns from particulars to the body of the people, and says, "these all received not the promises," and, lest we should mistake him, he gives a reason for it, "God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect." Now, the redemption of mankind and eternal life, is a thing that could be known no other way than by promise. As to what is delivered in v. 35, "a better resurrection," the time of the Maccabees is there hinted at, and at that time it is certain that a future state was a national doctrine. The last is Matthew, xxii. 31. A plain man, from this celebrated text, would have concluded just the contrary from these objectors, that, as this was the strongest text (as to be sure it was from our Saviour's choosing it) in the books of Moses for

a future state, it could never from those books be known to the people; but to explain this matter would take up more paper than I have to spare.

I will conclude, Sir, this long letter (a trouble you have brought upon yourself) with this general observation: nothing, you see, can be weaker than these objections; but, suppose they had any difficulty in them that could not on my scheme be well accounted for, they could never affect it; and I will tell you the reason why: my objectors go all along upon this supposition, "that all the strength of my scheme is built upon a mere negative, namely, the omission of a future state in Moses' law." But in this they are deceived; for I shall prove from the whole history of the actions of that people, that they had it not till after the captivity, and that in so strong a manner, that, was Moses' law lost, and the rest of the sacred books remaining, a fair proof might thence be deduced, that it never was in that law.

REV. W. WARBURTON TO THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY (SHERLOCK).

January 27, 1737.

Your Lordship knows, that from the Magistrate's large share in the establishment of national religion, two consequences are drawn; the one by believers, the other by infidels. The first con-

clude, that therefore these national religions are of human original; and this the fathers themselves spent much pains to prove. The second conclude, from the same fact, that therefore religion in general, or the idea of the relation between the creature and the Creator, was a human invention. This, and this conclusion only, I imagined it my business to contest. And if in confuting this I strengthened or established the other conclusion, namely, that superstition was of human original, I supposed that, in so doing, I added additional strength to, rather than took away from, the cause we support. And though infidels, indeed, in their writings, affect much to dwell upon this conclusion, that superstition was of human invention, it is not, I presume, on account of any service that will do their cause, but because it enables them to strike obliquely under that cover at religion in general. For, should they ever take it into their heads to deny that there is any better proof of superstition being an human invention, than that religion in general is, it would be then very incumbent on the defenders of revelation to show the difference. So that, if I prove that religion in general, or the idea of the relation between the creature and the Creator, was not a human invention, I presume I take off all the force of the atheist's argument against revelation, arising from the *invention of religion*; for that superstition was a human invention, both

parties seem to be agreed in. Indeed, the case is different as to the particular superstitions of the Church of Rome, because both parties are not agreed in their original. If, therefore, a Protestant should charge them on the priests of that church, and an advocate for Popery should pretend to wipe off the charge, by proving them invented by the people before the clergy came in to bear their part, this would, as your Lordship most justly observes, prove a very ridiculous defence. For the ground of difference still remains; or, rather, the point is given up by the defender, in proving them the product of the people, when he should have shown them to be as old as the founders of Christianity.

Your Lordship has made me but too sensible of the inconveniences of publishing the first part alone, and of its bearing the title of the whole. I have, as your Lordship is so good to direct, endeavoured to remedy it what I could, in the advertisement to the reader.

I have said a good deal of the force of ridicule in my Address to the Freethinkers; but I was never made so sensible of it, as in your Lordship's very agreeable and apposite application of the preacher's method to mine. It, indeed, shows me in a light so pleasantly ridiculous, that I could not forbear laughing, though so much at my own expense. I am, certainly, very justly liable to your censure; and the most I can say in extenuation is

only this, that (except the case of the philosopher's belief) the use of every observation I have made, throughout the whole volume, to our holy religion, may be easily seen without the subsequent part. It is true that that single exception includes a great deal. But then your Lordship will be so good to observe, that the point to be proved in my defence of Moses, is not that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is *true*; (*that* I take for granted, or leave for others to prove;) but that it is so *useful* that no lawgiver, without divine assistance, could be able to leave it out of his scheme of government. The consequence of this is, that that discourse of the philosopher's belief, which would be an argument *against* a future state, was my point the truth of that state, is only here an argument for its utility, as my point is, the necessity of that belief to society. So that an argument is not here given that is afterwards to be answered and shown false; which would be in the highest degree ridiculous for an author in earnest; but such an argument as is thought true, and to be made use of afterwards as a truth.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

[Thomas Sherlock was the eldest son of Dr. William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's. He was born in London in 1678, and educated at Eton, where he gave early promise of future excellence. In 1693 he was removed to Katharine Hall, Cambridge, where he took his degrees of B.A. 1697, M.A. 1701. The high estimation in which he was held at an early period of his life is proved by his having received the important preferment of Master of the Temple in 1704. In 1714 he proceeded D.D. and was chosen Master of his College. When appointed Vice Chancellor he discharged the office with the highest benefit to the University, displaying not only great abilities, but distinguished wisdom, policy, and talents for governing. In 1716 he was made Dean of Chichester, and appeared first as an author in the celebrated Bangorian Controversy, taking the side of orthodoxy in opposition to Bishop Hoadley. He was consecrated Bishop of Bangor in 1728; translated to Sarum in 1734; refused the Primacy in 1747, on account of ill health, but, having recovered, accepted the See of London in 1748. He died in 1761, aged 84, and was buried at Fulham.

He had received from nature an enlarged mind, a quick apprehension, and a solid judgment; advantages which he improved by industrious application to both solid and ornamental studies. Amongst the former he devoted himself most to divinity and law, both canon and common. He was a man of constant and exemplary piety, an earnest and effective preacher, and distinguished for his munificent charities.

As an author he is most advantageously known by his Discourses on Propheey, and his Sermons; the extraordinary merit of which, in respect of both matter and style, has long since gained them a distinguished place in English theology.—(*Chalmers' Biog. Dict.*)

It may be thought no trifling attestation to the orthodoxy of Bishop Warburton's leading arguments in the Divine Legation.

that that work should have received the countenance and approval of so sound a divine as Bishop Sherlock;—a point which the succeeding Letters seem to place beyond a doubt.—Ed.]

Wallington, Herts, Oct. 18, 1737.

Reverend Sir,

Last night I received some sheets of your book, and ran them over with great pleasure, but not with the attention which the subject and your way of treating it demand. I can therefore at present only thank you for the favour you have done me, and give you my opinion upon a very small matter, which yet I apprehend will greatly prejudice many readers against you.

In page 55, speaking of Wollaston, you take occasion to quote a passage from Don Quixote. As Wollaston was a sober serious writer and a scholar, and of an exceeding good character in private life, the treating his performance with an air of ridicule will be thought very injurious to him, and very improper to come from you; and will raise a good deal of unnecessary resentment. I am so much of this opinion, that if I was to judge for you, that leaf should be reprinted, and the passage left out.* I shall be in town very soon, and have the pleasure of seeing the sheets as they come out.

Your very affectionate brother and servant,

Tho. Sarum.

* See Hurd's Life of Warburton, p. 26, 4to edit. where it will be seen that Bishop Hare gave him the same advice.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Wallington, near Baldock, Herts, Nov. 29, 1737.

SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for the pleasure you have given me in perusing the sheets of your book as they came from the press. There are many things quite new to me, and very entertaining. Your proofs of the magistrate's influence in matters of religion are very copious and strong, stronger perhaps than ever were produced by the gentlemen who are willing to think all religion to be the contrivance of the civil magistrate.

I received most of the sheets in town at the time when the Queen's illness and death left hardly room to think sedately of any thing else. I hope to see you in town before the next summer; by that time I shall have considered the book together, and, if any thing sticks with me, I shall be glad of your assistance to clear it up.

Mr. Wollaston was, I believe, a serious Christian. He pursued his point to open the principles of natural religion, by natural reason only; but towards the conclusion of his book * there is a plain indication in so many words, that *he wanted other help*; and I am well informed that he had begun the proof and explication of the Christian religion in the same method:—the unfinished work was found among his papers after his death.

* "The Religion of Nature delineated," p. 211.

REV. W. WARBURTON TO BISHOP SHERLOCK.

Jan. 17, 1738.

Your lordship, to be sure, rightly observes, that the Christian notion of a resurrection is inconsistent with a transmigration, and therefore this is one good argument that the pagans had it not. Yet what is very remarkable, the Jews contrived matters so as to hold at once a resurrection and a transmigration, and what is more, made these doctrines support one another, as I shall show from what Philo and Josephus, and the New Testament, deliver of these matters.

I shall endeavour to prove that an Extraordinary Providence dispensed to the Jews *as a people*, is sufficient to my point. But shall go on to show that the sacred Scriptures affirm it to be dispensed to individuals. Not so exactly, indeed, under the kings as before. Yet even then the thing was plainly acknowledged, Psalm xxxvii. 27. Amos, iv. 7, even appeals to this Extraordinary Providence to particulars, as a thing well known; and again more expressly, ix. 9, and James xxxiii. 15; and Hebrews ii. 2 confirms these accounts The writers under the kings do indeed mention the inequality in very strong terms; but, I apprehend, they are there speaking of their pagan neighbours

and enemies, amongst whom good and bad happened to all alike: I imagine, particularly, the author of the seventy-third Psalm does so. Indeed, this Extraordinary Providence to particulars is to be understood with much temper. As, 1. We are not to suppose it to take place, but when the laws of the state come short of administering rewards and punishments, it being only a succedaneum to civil justice. 2. (With regard to punishment), if all men escaped by the corruption of Courts of Justice in cases where they could punish, we are not to suppose such immediately pursued by divine vengeance. 3. Sometimes ill men were suffered to be a scourge. 4. The Extraordinary Providence with regard to the state, sometimes interfered with that to particulars, as in the case of the plague for numbering the people. 5. Sometimes the Extraordinary Providence was deferred from time to time, to bring men to repentance. This made men accustomed to an Extraordinary Providence impatient, as we see Zephaniah, i. 12; Malachi, ii. 17; James, v. 19; Amos, v. 18; Jeremiah, xvii. 15. 6. Sometimes, again, this Extraordinary Providence was taken off for a punishment of the state, Isaiah, iii. 5, lix. 2. Here I would observe, that when the 3, 5, 6 cases happened, they were expressly taken notice of by the sacred writers. Add to all this, the gradual decrease of this Providence, as a preparation to the Gospel, and then we need not wonder at what

we meet with, of suspicions and complaints of God's Providence. But your lordship will observe that these could never come from good men, either not accustomed to an Extraordinary Providence, or well acquainted with the doctrine of a future state.

I imagine the Jews might borrow from the Babylonians a doctrine which they might have had from their neighbours nearer home long before, because, that till their sojourn in Babylon, they did not want that doctrine, either for the support of the state or for the consolation of particulars; and we are not accustomed to give much attention to or borrow any thing before we want it.

It is very observable, as your lordship finely remarks, that amidst all the reproofs of the rites and observances of the pagans, not one word is said to reprove any notion about a future state of rewards and punishments, and this very conduct Moses and the prophets must have held with regard to this point according to my scheme. They were not to teach life and immortality, and yet they could not reprove the notion of the soul's existence in a future state of rewards and punishments. But they do take notice of the pagan notion of the past existence of the soul, where they condemn necromantic rites, which your lordship knows was the evocation of the spirits of departed men. And this leads me to your lord-

ship's next most material observation, which is, that those who think with Sir J. Masham, *will give one answer to my whole scheme.* Your lordship guessed right, the answer has been given already. (Professor Blackwell's Letter.)*

Your lordship sees he is so reasonable as not to

* *Extract from Doctor Blackwell's Letter.*—"As to the second part of my promise, I find all my fancies about your admirable plan terminate in high expectations of pleasure and light upon some points still difficult to me. And the free generous manner in which you honour me with your friendship, makes me think it my duty to tell you what I expect from it:—As first, I shall look for a proof that Moses had himself a notion of a future state of rewards and punishments; or if that demand be too high, to make it probable that the Egyptians had it so early as in his time, for which purpose you will no doubt consider, whether the evidence drawn from Herodotus and the Greek authors be sufficient? And if not, what other evidence you can have for the antiquity of that belief among men? I likewise hope to find the real reason, why the divine lawgiver having to do with so stubborn and refractory a race, should descend to such repeated particularities in his threats, parcelling out the body and estate in his curses, when he could have brought easily in play the superior and overawing terrors of immortal torture and wrath always to come? For if he had no need of the motive of future rewards and penalties to keep that perverse people in their duty, how came he to stand in need of so minute and reiterated a detail of curses? Another question, which I persuade myself must have occurred to you, is, whether, besides the great and good ends now attained by the belief of a future state, the revealing it to the Jews would not have much contributed to make them comprehend the meaning of the Mosaic institutions of sacrifices, atonements, scapegoats, &c.

"*Aberdeen, October* 26, 1737."

expect I should prove this from Moses' writings; and indeed it would appear very unreasonable to demand that I should prove the author of a certain book had the knowledge of a future state from that very book where I insist there is an entire silence with regard to it. Yet even this, if it would satisfy unbelievers, I would undertake to do. I suppose, then, that the law so frequently repeated against necromancy, shews Moses well acquainted with the notion, and that the notion was the popular belief of all the neighbouring nations. This being a rite built upon a future state, as is not only seen from the thing itself, but from Homer :—Ulysses' adventure with the shades being, as your lordship well knows, nothing but a necromantic evocation. I will only observe, that if the infidels stick to their own notions of the high antiquity of Egypt, that alone will overthrow the objection; for their authors, Herodotus and Diodorus, mention this doctrine as of the earliest date in Egypt. Their very circumstantial funeral rites were certainly a consequence of it. These writers speak of them as such, and it is very remarkable that these very rites were in use at the death of Jacob, as appears from Genesis, l. as, the particular profession of embalmers—the operation of embalming continuing 40 days, and the mourning 70—so minutely agreeable to the accounts of those two Greek writers.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

March 2, 1737-8.

Reverend Sir,

The Bishop of Chichester * tells me that he sent you the Miscellany of last week, so there is no occasion to give you any account of it. The very absurd use that paper has made of the passage relating to Hickringall, &c. requires no answer. Every body cries shame on the author for it. The other charge is equally absurd, though not so surprising. I was aware that some parts of your book would raise jealousies; though I little imagined to see them raised so high, when there are so many passages in the book to speak the author's sense plainly.

But one passage there is, which I find has, above all others, given ground to those suspicions; it is dedication, p. 18, where you say of the author of A Letter to Dr. Waterland, that he is one of the most *formidable adversaries* to the freethinkers. This author is reckoned to have given up the divine authority of Moses, and to consider him as a mere politician; and to defend even the Christian religion as useful only for the present circumstances of life. I do not vouch for these conclusions; but those who are assured they are just, take your declaration to be approving the method, and to be a key to your own sentiments.

* Francis Hare, D.D.

I thought it right to give you this account, which will let you into the reason of the anger expressed against you, and enable you, if it should be considerable enough ever to deserve your notice, to see it in the true light; at present I think it is not.

I expect to see you in town, and shall be very glad to see you and talk over these matters. The learning and ability of the author of the Divine Legation are not called in question, and the first part has raised a great desire and expectation of the second.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

THO. SARUM.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Temple, March 9, 1737-8.

SIR,

When I saw the Bishop of Chichester I found it was his opinion, that it was proper for you to say something in answer to the very injurious treatment you have had. I think so too; not so much in regard to the author of the Miscellany, as in regard to others, who may possibly be desirous to see all ground of suspicion removed. In drawing the answer, you should consider such persons much more than your angry adversary. If you treat him as he may deserve, you enter into

πόλεμον ἀσπονδὸν, and may be engaged in the most disagreeable work to a scholar and a serious man. I do not mean that you have not right, or that you should not complain of the immoral conduct of your adversary; but I wish to see it done seriously, rather than angrily. I write this not as suspecting your want either of temper or judgment, but from my own experience, who know how hard it is to return a soft answer to a public abuse.

The suggestion that you undervalue the authority of miracles appears to me a mere blunder. The charge, that you accuse some defenders of Christianity with not understanding the principles of it, is accusing you for what is in fact true; and comes improperly from Mr. Hooker, who thinks there are among the clergy so many who want a true faith. The case of Dr. M. (which is the *hinc illæ lachrymæ* of the whole complaint) will require your best consideration, whether to mention it at all, or how to mention it. If you had not, in the 18th page, said anything of him, I should have thought the 38th page intended for him. I remember very well that, conversing with Dr. M. at Bath, about four years ago, I said to him much the same thing which I read in that 38th page.

Forgive my entering so far into a matter in which you want no help, and ascribe it to the concern this affair has given me. I was truly grieved when I saw in what manner you was treated. I

make no manner of doubt but this will end to your honour.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your affectionate brother and humble servant,
THO. SARUM.

REV. W. WARBURTON TO BISHOP SHERLOCK.

Nov. 22, 1738.

MY LORD,

I have taken the liberty of ordering the bookseller to send your Lordship my Legation of Moses of the second edition, which he is about to publish. I will hope it may be less unworthy your lordship's perusal than the first, here being several additions, chiefly in support of my notions and reasonings there advanced. I go upon the remainder of my work as fast as my health will give me leave; for as to my inclination it is not a bit abated for all the scurvy usage I have met with. For I will tell your lordship what it is that supports me—it is the love of truth, and a thorough conviction of the reality of the Jewish and Christian revelations. I think I am not uncharitable in suspecting that it may be a want of the latter that makes some very zealous people cooler and more suspicious of the former than is fitting. Hence we see them almost frighted to death at every foolish book writ against religion, and betake themselves

in all haste to their old posture of defence to prop and buttress up with any materials that come to hand, what they think a sinking fabric, because they do not see the eternal foundations on which it stands. In the mean time, if any one offers to remove the rubbish that hides its beauty, or kick down an awkward prop that discredits its strength, or lays it open to its very foundations, which is all that is wanting to make it impregnable, he is sure to be called—perhaps to be thought—a secret adversary or an indiscreet friend.

Your lordship's writings first taught me to see, that there was a large and rich field of matter for the support of revelation, untouched and unknown till your lordship first discovered and cultivated it. I return you, therefore, but your own when I take the liberty of acquainting you, in a few words, how I proceed in my design. I show that the people under the Law had not, or were not influenced by, the doctrine of a future state. This, from the nature of their theocracy—from the omission of it in Moses' Law—from the whole history of the Jews to the time of the Captivity, where we do not find that the consideration of a future state was the motive or sanction of any one action whatsoever, but an influence of a different nature. From the writings of the Prophets, and those of the Apostles, I proceed to examine the reasonings of both Jewish and Christian writers in support of the contrary opinion, in which the famous eleventh

chapter of the Hebrews comes under consideration, where I endeavour to show that it is so far from opposing, that it is one of the greatest supports of my scheme. Having, I say, done this, I proceed from the proof of this proposition, and of the two others in my first volume, to establish my conclusion, that therefore the Jewish people were under an Extraordinary Providence, and, consequently, Moses' mission divine. To support and illustrate this, I enter into a more particular examination of that Extraordinary Providence; show it extended to particulars as well as to the public; that yet, if it did not, its extending to the public would be sufficient to my point, as superseding all necessity of the doctrine of a future state for the ends of civil society. I then show how it gradually abated. Its first impair was on the people's choosing a king; but the theocracy continuing, as I show, under their kings, it was still dispensed, though not in so high a measure as before. From this time it gradually abated, and as it abated, the doctrine of a future state arose; first, in the preaching of the Prophets; secondly, by the reflections of the people on appearing inequalities; thirdly, from what the neighbouring nations taught: so that by that time the Extraordinary Providence ceased, as it did from the Captivity, a future state was become amongst the Jews a national established doctrine. This appears to carry with it some weight; and the showing at large by whom

it was brought in, whence the several parts of it were gathered, and how it was understood, all contribute to the support of my thesis.

I then proceed to show the reasons that we may suppose God had in omitting a doctrine, which might be well spared in his dispensation, which yet no one can say would not have had its use. After having assigned several which may be thought worthy of God, I next show that God not only *did not* for these reasons reveal this doctrine in the law, but that, if the law did indeed come from him, it could not for several other reasons then reveal it, agreeably to the method of God's general dispensation delivered in Scripture. The sum of one of my arguments is this: "The future state discoverable by natural reason, and that taught by Revelation, are built upon quite different foundations." That of the first upon this,—that the moral attributes of God require that he should punish and reward according to men's behaviour; if it be not done here, it must be done hereafter. This notion of a future state might be taught at any time, and was actually taught by all the ancient legislators; but that Moses, if he was indeed the messenger of God, could not teach this, will be seen by what follows.

But the future state taught by Revelation was solely built upon this foundation,—that Adam having forfeited the free gift of immortality given him on condition, he and his posterity were to be

restored to it by the death or sacrifice of the second Adam. Now a future state according to this notion, I show, could not be taught but at that time only when the gift was restored to us; that redemption and the Redeemer, the workman and his work, must necessarily be coeval. Moses, therefore, being, on the supposition, an agent and instrument of God for the giving a religion which was a part or member of one grand economy and dispensation, could not teach another life according to the notion of it under natural religion, because it was extraneous to that dispensation; could not teach it according to the notion under Revelation, because that doctrine was future in that dispensation. But thoroughly to establish this argument, and several others to the same point, there is need precisely to examine the nature of Christianity. In doing this I endeavour to establish the doctrines of *redemption*, *satisfaction*, *faith*, *justification*, those bugbears of our great masters of reason in the Socinian way, and to show their reality *against* their conclusions, and their utmost reasonableness *upon* their principles. The fruits, I hope, from this are,

1. To evince the truth of the proposition in question, that a future state could not be delivered by Moses. 2. To point out a short and easy road to the end of those odious and perpetual controversies about the nature of *grace*, of *satisfaction*, of *justification by faith*, the *preference of moral or positive precepts*, *pardon on repentance alone*, and

utterly to demolish all the overstrained Socinian nonsense of Chubb's late Tracts against Revelation. 3. And principally, to present an entire view of the whole of God's grand dispensation to man, from Adam to Jesus; where may be seen at once the beauty, consistency, harmony, and necessary dependency of all the parts upon one another; which will at the same time, we hope, reflect the most advantageous light over the whole body of the work. And with this it concludes.

Your lordship, as I have said, has been my great master in this career; so that no one surely could conduct me so safely through it. This would naturally tempt me to beg information, to propose my doubts, to seek for directions; but that I reflect I am, as it were, performing quarantine as coming lately from suspected places, from the cabinet council of old lawgivers, and the schools of heathen philophers, and their venom is supposed to be yet sticking on me; in which state it would be presumption and ill manners to come near our superiors. But whatever becomes of this, I can never think myself unhappy while your lordship is so good to believe this one truth upon my bare word—that I am, with the highest gratitude and veneration,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obliged
and most devoted and faithful servant,
W. WARBURTON.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Wallington, near Baldock, Hertfordshire, Dec. 18, 1738.

REVEREND SIR,

I am ashamed that I have been so long in acknowledging, not only the present I received of the second edition of your book, but your letter of the 22d of last month. I have a just excuse—I was seized with the epidemical cold at London, which brought such a rheum into my eyes that I am hardly now able to write.

I see the difficulty of your Second Part, and you see it. You have in your first book showed the ends that were to be served by the magistrate in cultivating the notion of a future state: you are now to show that these ends were served under the Jewish polity without the help of this notion.

You say, "this third proposition, and the two other in the first volume, being proved, I come to the establishment of my conclusion, that *therefore* the Jews *at the time of Moses* must needs be under an Extraordinary Providence, and, consequently, that Moses' mission was divine."

The point here is this, whether this proposition, "*That the Jews at the time of Moses must needs be under an Extraordinary Providence*," is to be admitted as a *consequence* from what you have said. Is it not the main thing to be proved, in

order to come at that which is your true consequence, *therefore Moses' mission was divine?*

Whether you mean any thing by the limitation *at the time of Moses* I know not; but if the proof or consequence will go no further, it will fall short of your view, for the Jewish polity was to outlast Moses. But as you propose to enter into the proof of this Extraordinary Providence, it will be in your choice to set this proposition in what light you think best.

As to the notion of a future state under natural religion and under Revelation, there is great foundation for the distinction, and great use may be made of it. The natural notion seems to be, the remains of the original state of nature reduced to a consistency with our present state. Adam might have a notion of being immortal, but not as a spirit separate from the body. But when death came in and made the separation, natural religion could hold fast no more than the hopes of immortality for separated spirits; and reasonings from the attributes of God supported the notion. The redemption which was to restore us to our natural state, brought in the doctrine of a resurrection.

It is observable, that what notices there are in the ancient Scriptures of a future life, are connected with the notion of a resurrection, founded on the early promises of redemption. I understand the famous passage of Job in this sense; *sed sub judice lis est.* As soon as the Prophets dis-

close the notion of a future life, it is under the image of a resurrection. Under the law persons were raised from the dead: Enoch and others, translated to another life, went body and soul together. Strong intimations these! Our Saviour from Moses infers not the philosophical notion of immortality, but the resurrection of the dead. And the Jews in our Saviour's time who believed any thing of a future state, believed a resurrection.

Admitting this, I should doubt whether the Jewish notion of a future state should be deduced at all *from what was taught on this matter by the people amongst whom they dwelt.* The Jewish notion of a resurrection, and the heathen notion of immortality, are very different things. And the internal argument for the doctrine of a resurrection will appear in a strong light, upon observing that the philosophical notion was never propagated in the church of God; but the true one, founded upon the redemption, was in proportion to the light communicated in the several ages.

The general expectation of immortality entertained in the heathen world, is the strongest presumptive proof for the truth of the Christian Revelation. Nature expected relief against death, but the method of such relief was out of her view. She did, as it were, capitulate to save the soul; for the body she saw no help; and yet the spirit without the body is not *the man.* God only could find

the way to rescue *the man* from death by a resurrection.

You see how much I incline to your way of thinking in this particular. I say with you, that Moses could not teach the common notion of the immortality of separate souls; for God had otherwise provided for the immortality of *men:* and this seems to be a *very just account* of the silence of the ancient Scriptures in this point. I should not choose to say positively that *Moses could not teach a future life according to its notion under Revelation;* because I think this point might gradually be opened as others were, till the fulness of time for the perfect revelation was come. Does not Hebrews, xi. 35, favour this notion?

The opening, upon the foot of your plan, the scheme of redemption by Christ, will be of great service. It is want of viewing the dispensation from the beginning as one scheme that makes the several parts the less intelligible.

I trust you will excuse these hasty thoughts, which pray trust with nobody else. You are so able to judge for yourself, that you want not my assistance, though your great modesty has led you into higher acknowledgments to me than are my due. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother
and humble servant,
THO. SARUM.

P. S. I cannot help thinking that you will find it

hard to come at sufficient proof of such *Extraordinary* Providence toward *particulars*, as your scheme seems to require. But I think, too, that the method you propose will so plainly account for the silence of Moses on the immortality, &c. and show such a consistency between the old and the new Scriptures, as will abundantly compensate for what may be thought wanting on the other head. I remember when I thought the doctrine of the resurrection, as taught among the Jews before our Saviour's time, a difficulty upon the Christian scheme; and that it had an appearance as if our Saviour had adopted the prevailing notion of his country, and built his scheme upon it. But when I considered the resurrection as God's method of restoring *men* to the original happiness from whence they fell, and reserved to be *fully* declared by his Son in due time; and that it was gradually opened, and preserved by ancient tradition, confirmed and further cleared by the later Prophets; it cast a new and a great light upon this wonderful scheme of Providence. When I took my Doctor's degree, and preached the commencement sermon, it was on this subject—"*Who brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.*" I am pleased to find this subject now in your hands, where it will have justice done it.

If Moses had taught the common notion of the *soul's* immortality in a *separate* state, and established the sanctions of religion on that opinion,

and Christ had taught an immortality founded on a resurrection, could we have received both accounts as of divine authority? In pursuing this argument you must consider the state of souls between death and the resurrection; and if you do not prevent objections, they will be sure to follow you.

This account of Moses' silence about a future state being well established, you will then have a right to infer, by way of *consequence*, a particular Providence, &c. For if either a particular Providence or a belief of a future state be necessary to civil government, and God thought fit to erect a civil government without teaching a future state, it follows that he supplied the want by a special Providence.

REV. W. WARBURTON TO BISHOP SHERLOCK.

Newark, Dec. 23, 1738.

My Lord,

I have the honour of your lordship's of the 18th instant, for which I hold myself infinitely favoured. I am extremely concerned to hear your lordship has been so ill of an indisposition, which we feel nothing of in these parts.

The many noble observations and material hints which your lordship has been so good to honour me with, are so extremely useful to me, that I am impudent enough to wish, and vain enough to

hope that this letter will not be the last on the subject that I shall receive from your lordship. Any odd hour of leisure, when either this subject occurs, or one so insignificant as me, yet one who so truly honours and venerates your lordship, chances to come into your thoughts, might make me very happy with the result of your reflections. I shall religiously obey your lordship's commands in making your last a secret to every one. Nor should I, without that order, have been forward to communicate the treasure it contains to anybody.

Your lordship very justly corrects the inaccuracy of my expression. This proposition, *that the Jews were under an Extraordinary Providence*, is not to be admitted simply as a consequence of the three propositions; but I shall employ those three positions as a medium to prove it by; which was what I meant by the expression "the three being proved, I *come to the establishment* of my conclusion, &c." The proving the Extraordinary Providence is, indeed, as your lordship observes, the main thing to be proved; and your lordship in the P. S. shows how it is to be done. It was impossible Moses could have omitted the doctrine of a future state, or that the community could have subsisted without it, unless under an Extraordinary Providence; and this I do by the assistance of the three propositions. When this is done, I come, as your lordship rightly observes, to my *true* conclusion, *that therefore Moses' mission was divine.*

By *the time of Moses,* I did not mean to restrain the Extraordinary Providence to that period. But your lordship observes, that *my particular* argument proves no more directly, than that there *was* one when he gave the people his law. Indeed, common sense tells us, that he could not give a *durable* law, fitted only for the state of an Extraordinary Providence, if that state was to expire with him. So that, granting me an Extraordinary Providence during his time, the continuance of it during the whole period of the theocracy necessarily follows. And I particularly examine (as I did myself the honour to tell your lordship,) into the extent of that period, and the gradual decay of this Extraordinary Providence.

It rejoices me to find myself authorised by your lordship, in thinking that *great use may be made* of the distinction between the notion of a future state under natural religion and under Revelation; because I have made it the foundation of my explanation of the Christian system; and I am greatly deceived if it be not a master-key to enter the very penetralia of it. Your lordship has said so many admirable things in a few words in explanation of the *distinction,* as have afforded me great lights in support of my notions.

What your lordship is pleased to observe of your *doubts whether the Jewish notion of a future state should be deduced at all from what was taught on this matter by the people amongst whom they dwelt,*

is very material. But the Jews having got after the Captivity the doctrines of a metempsychosis and a purgatory, doctrines which, if any, were surely pagan, I could not tell how otherwise to account for them. That the resurrection they had not from thence, but from their own Prophets, to me is most evident. Though it is an uncontroverted opinion amongst the learned, that the pagans had the notion of the resurrection of the body long before the times of Christ, yet I esteem and endeavour to prove it a vulgar error. The greatest support of the notion in general is a famous passage of Pliny.

And that particularly the Magi taught it, they bring the testimony of Laertius, l. 1, s. 9, who says that Theopompus (contemporary with Esdras and Nehemiah) records, that *the Magi taught the resurrection of the body.* If I was disposed to own the fact, I would say the Jews taught it to the Magi, but I have great reason to deny it.

What a delight is it to me to hear these words delivered, in my opinion, as from an oracle:— "*That it is want of viewing the Christian dispensation from the beginning as one scheme that makes the several parts the less intelligible.*" The result of this view is internal evidence for the truth of Christianity. And yet one * of your lordship's bench was pleased to mark me out to his clergy, in

* Richard Smalbrooke, D.D. Bishop of Lichfield.

his visitation charge at Chesterfield, as one who had done wrong to talk so highly of the internal evidence; for that, after all, the external evidence is what we must stick by.

Your lordship's P. S. is full of observations of the highest importance to me, which I could expatiate on with the greatest pleasure; but I am confounded at the length of this; but I could not forbear to let your lordship see that I was not ignorant of the treasure I have got; and it shall be the business of my life to manifest that I am not ungrateful.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Temple, Jan. 23, 1738-9.

Reverend Sir,

I had the favour of yours of the 17th. I find myself more in your debt for an account of the passage in Herodotus than I intended to be. In turning over your second edition since I came to town, I find that you have (p. 90) made the same use of the passage, that Sir John Marsham did, which I was not aware of when I passed (perhaps too hasty) a judgment on it. When I first read the passage in Marsham several years ago, I consulted Herodotus, and thought that Marsham had mistaken the sense. I have now considered again the passage as it lies in Herodotus, and I will make you judge of the reasons why I still

doubt, whether you and Sir John Marsham have given the right sense of the passage.

The *part* of the passage which you refer to taken by itself, can bear no other sense than what you give of it; and as you have connected it *in your text* to another passage of the same author, it speaks your sense very strongly.

The passage in Herodotus relating to this matter, begins with the words quoted by you, and ends at these—"τῶν ἐγὼ ἰδὼς τὰ ὀνόματα οὐ γράφω." The Egyptians are said to be the authors of this λόγος, that the soul is immortal, but that on the dissolution of the body it passes ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον, &c. The question is, whether the discovery attributed to the Egyptians relates to the first part,—the immortality; or to the second,—the transmigration; or to both. To know what Herodotus meant precisely, we must go to the latter part of the passage, "τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο," &c. Now the τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ here means precisely the same thing with the τόνδε τὸν λόγον which the Egyptians are said to be the first authors of. Do you think that Herodotus could mean to say of the immortality, that some Greeks, whom he could name if he would, taught it as an invention of their own? Surely the notion of the immortality was too common in Greece for Herodotus to speak of it as the opinion, and claimed as the invention, of *some few* whom he could name. But if he spoke of the doctrine of transmigration,

he truly said, that some Greeks had taught it as a doctrine of their own (ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωϋτῶν). If then this latter part can relate only to the doctrine of transmigration, the first part can relate to no more, for Herodotus speaks of the same λόγος in both parts.

It is very unnatural to suppose that the notion of immortality and the doctrine of transmigration are of the same date. It may as well be imagined that the cycles and epicycles in the old astronomy were as old as the knowledge of the planets' motion. And therefore to join these two together as the *one invention* ascribed to the Egyptians by Herodotus, is putting things together naturally separated; the doctrine of transmigration being the consequence, and perhaps a late consequence, from the notion of immortality. That the notion of transmigration came from Egypt, all agree; that in reporting this opinion, Herodotus should mention the immortality which was the foundation of it is no wonder, though he meant not to ascribe it to the invention of the Egyptians.

I think, too, the language of Herodotus favours this intrepretation: τόνδε τὸν λόγον may be rendered *this account*. The Egyptians first gave *this account*, that the soul is immortal, but on the dissolution of the body goes into another kind of animal. This then is *an account* of immortality,—and *this account* given of immortality is the thing invented, and not the immortality itself. *Valla*, in the latter

part of the passage, renders τούτῳ τῳ λόγῳ, *hanc rationem.*

The notion of immortality among the Egyptians was older than *this account* of transmigration, as appears by what is said of their embalming; that it was founded on an opinion that the soul would not leave the body so long as it could be preserved, but would hover about it. This notion could not be reconciled to that of transmigration, unless the transmigration was suspended as long as the body was preserved: possibly some such thing may be intimated in the words of Herodotus—τοῦ σωμάτος δὲ καταφθίνοντος. Servius on Virgil's Æneid, iii. 67, "Ægyptii periti sapientiæ condita diutiùs reservant cadavera, scilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret, et corpori sit obnoxia, nec citò ad aliud transeat."

The old opinion plainly appears to be that which was connected with the sepulchral rites; and when the notion of transmigration prevailed, an absurd exception was made for the soul's attendance on the body, that the opinion "tot cæremoniis consecrata," might be preserved.

I now leave this passage of Herodotus to your judgment. If I have said enough to excuse myself from rashness in the opinion I give, I am satisfied.

As to the general argument, I am afraid the infidels will be not a little pleased if they can find that many ages passed before any suspicion arose

of a future state. Noah stood between the two worlds: if there was any such notion in the old one, without doubt he communicated it to the new one; and it was not left to be invented afterwards. If it was invented after, how many ages passed without this knowledge?

As to the passages referred to to support the Extraordinary Providence to particulars, I cannot agree with you in all. But I have but one thing to say to you on it, that you should avoid all doubtful and uncertain proofs in supporting a notion which you know will be so hardly received.

I write in haste, too hastily, indeed, the subject considered. I shall be glad to hear from you, and am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

THO. SARUM.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.*

May 10, 1739.

REVEREND SIR,

I am very sorry and surprised too, at the account you give me relating to a new edition of Shakespear; and the more sorry, as I have in some measure been the occasion of it.

I have no objection to your sending the letter to Sir Thomas.† You do not mention to him that he

* This Letter is inserted here, in order to preserve the series of the Correspondence.

† Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.

was to have *for a friend* £200; and perhaps you may as well keep that to yourself, unless it shall be necessary in the course of the correspondence to own your knowledge of it. I can't tell *what friend* has deserved better in this respect than yourself, and therefore can say nothing to it; but I should have expected that your interest should have been remembered in a treaty of this kind.*

Mr. Romaine's Sermon I have heard of, but have not seen it, nor do I intend to see it. This instance will make you careful how you enter into a correspondence with people of whom you know nothing.

I inclose the copy of the letter you intend for Sir Thomas, which may save you the trouble of transcribing another.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

THO. SARUM.

BISHOP SHERLOCK TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Temple, May 23, 1741.

REVEREND SIR,

Your Letter, which I found here upon my return from a short excursion into the country, has prevented me. I intended to be beforehand with you in returning my thanks for the sheets I received

* For the history of this celebrated literary quarrel, see Hurd's Life of Warburton, p. 31, 4to edit. and Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 588–9.

from the press. Yesterday I received the book complete, and I shall have a new pleasure in reading and considering the whole together.

Should any one else compliment me as the author, in any degree, of your book, there would be a temptation to admit, at least by silence, the compliment. One thing only I can say to you, that you are not mistaken in judging of my value and esteem for the true author.

I hope I have outlived the resentments of some angry writers, and have done with controversy; if ever I enter that field again I shall claim your promise (and if I do, it will be for the sake of your promise) to be my second.

I think these two volumes must silence the suspicions which some seemed willing to propagate, of your being no friend to Revelation; and give every body a just notion of the learning and penetration of the author.

Your account of types and second senses, and converse by action deduced from the principles explained in the former part of these volumes, is very material, and brings light to one of the obscurest points of divinity. Your application of these principles to the explaining the command of offering up of Isaac, is, I think, entirely new. I wish you may not suffer for this fault. The making this (in consequence of your application of our Saviour's words "Abraham rejoiced," &c.) to be in the first intention a *revelation* to Abraham, and a trial

only in the second, is, as you are sensible, your greatest difficulty.

I wished for you by me when I read this and some other parts of your book; we should have understood one another soon; and it is a discouragement to writing to think that it may require ten pages to clear a misapprehension of your sense, which as few words might do in conversation. I will, however, mention a few things, not pretending now to enter into the merits of the case, but only to suggest to you what common readers may stop at.

Page 594. "*He never urged them with any circumstances, &c. which they either were not or might not be well acquainted with, by the study of their Scriptures.*"

At the time this was said, there is no reason to think the Jews could enter into that sense of the transaction, which the antient Prophets, *who desired to see,* could not enter into.

Nor does our Saviour seem to expect they should; for he says, "*When* ye have lift up the Son of Man, *then* shall ye know." v. 28.

I do not suppose this to affect your main scheme; for suppose our Saviour to say this, to give them a call to consider it after they had lifted up the Son of Man, it will, I think, consist with your view.

Page 603. What you say here against its being a trial *only,* concludes pretty strongly against its being a *trial at all;* your manner of expressing

yourself at the close of the paragraph, p. 604, "*yet*, as the sacred text assures us it was a trial, *we must* conclude," shews you were sensible of it.

As this point is a very material one, and in which you have Scripture, Old and New, seemingly at least, against you, give me leave to suggest to you a very old thought of mine. I do it the rather as it appears to me not inconsistent with your scheme, and may perhaps, under your management, be improved to the support of it.

Many years ago I made two Sermons upon the offering up of Isaac. I was under a difficulty to account for this action, on the foot of its being a trial only; not being able to account to myself for so very extraordinary a case, without any reason being given for it, excepting only this, that it shewed the strength of Abraham's faith. I thought then there must be something particular, some special use of this act of faith. I saw plainly that Abraham's faith was proposed as a pattern to Jews and Christians; that the Jews were called on in the New Testament to submit to the faith of the Gospel in imitation of Abraham's faith. Now the Gospel proposed an act of faith nowhere exemplified in the Old Testament, i. e. trusting to receive the promises of life and salvation through a person *dead* and *raised* from the *dead*. When the Jews were called on by the Apostles to imitate the faith of Abraham, they might have said, "Abraham trusted for great things, indeed, but things

possible at least; to inherit the promised land; to have a numerous and prosperous issue; but you call on us to trust in a dead man, to believe him raised," &c.

I saw plainly from the story in Genesis compared with the passage in the Hebrews, that the offering up Isaac, and his deliverance, was as near a representation of the death and resurrection of Jesus as could be; for a representation or figure must not be the very thing itself; I saw from the passage in the Hebrews that the strength and merits of Abraham's faith lay in this, that, having received the promises, *that in Isaac shall thy seed be called*, he doubted not of God's fulfilling *this* promise to him, even when he was going to slay this son; reconciling the contradiction by that eminent act of faith, *accounting that God was able to raise him even from the dead*. Did not this last act complete the faith of Abraham, and come up to be a pattern of the faith required in Christ crucified? If so, it shews why the trial was made; why it was the last trial; for it rendered Abraham's faith complete, and had respect to the *great end* of all the promises; and when this was over Abraham's task finished, and his faith made a perfect example to those who were in the fulness of time to be called to like faith.

Now, whether we suppose the trial principally intended, and the Revelation conveyed with it, as a reward, or suppose with you the Revelation prin-

cipally intended, and the trial contrived by means of it, the difference appears to me not great.

There is in the 4th chapter of the Romans, from v. 17, a reasoning not unlike this in the Hebrews.

You will excuse my giving you my thoughts on this subject. If there be any thing in them, I have said enough *to you;* if nothing, too much.

What you say, p. 617, of the *no moral import* of this and the like actions, will be liable to be misunderstood. I see how you collect it from your account of actions used only for converse; but should any one make choice of an action to inform another of something, and by that action do a real injury to a third person, would not the act be immoral? I fear I do not quite apprehend your meaning.

To end where I began, I heartily thank you for your books; I have you and your great learning and abilities in high esteem, and with the greatest truth am,

Your affectionate friend, and very
humble servant,
THOMAS SARUM.

REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON TO ——

——Your lordship very justly observes, that a deist may say, that "the apparent utility is reason enough to propagate a doctrine not believed, but

no reason arises from thence for concealing a useful doctrine that is believed," as believing I attempted to prove the latter proposition from the former; whereas I labour to prove it from quite another thing; namely, from Moses having no occasion for that service which in the general results from that useful doctrine. This service is, the preserving the belief of a Providence, which is seen not to be equally administered here. Now I show it was equally administered under the Mosaic dispensation, therefore no need of his support. Your lordship, with the greatest accuracy, asks, "if it were not, on the Mosaic scheme, *necessary*, can it be said it would not have been *useful?* Why, therefore, if believed, should it be suppressed?" I freely own, that, admitting an equal Providence in Judea, this doctrine could not be said to be quite useless. If, therefore, I could say no more than that Moses had little or no occasion for this doctrine (as indeed he had not), your lordship's objection, I will own, could not be easily satisfied; though I might say he omitted it for this very reason, that it might remain an eternal standing proof of the divinity of his mission. And I am sure your lordship will think even this alone a reason not unworthy of a consummate lawgiver. It is certainly such a mark of distinction from other lawgivers as is very surprising. Your lordship is pleased to say this is a difficulty you would be glad to see removed. I will, therefore, trespass a little longer

on your lordship's patience, to explain the very bottom of my thoughts to your lordship. I go on, then, in the following volume, after I have given the reasons why Moses *did* not propagate the doctrine of a future state, one of which I have given above, to show that, if his pretensions were true, he indeed *could* not propagate it. I observe, then, that the peculiar foundation of a future state taught by Revelation, is different from that on which a future state taught by natural religion is built. The latter is founded on this, that God is just, and will give to every one according to his works; therefore, if not done here, it will be done hereafter. But the future state by Revelation on this, that eternal life was given as a grace, not as a debt, and so on an arbitrary, positive, not moral condition: that the non-performance of the condition incurred a forfeiture of the gift which, now lost, was purchased for us by a Redeemer. The consequence from this distinction is, that the future state taught by natural religion might be taught at any time, and in any age; but that taught by Revelation in that period only in which it was divulged; for, if it was a restoration and a redemption, it could be only taught at and after the time that that Redeemer and Restorer had performed his office. So that if Moses was indeed in his course one of the agents and instruments of God's various dispensations to mankind, he could not, without assuming another office . . . . . .

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

[Francis Hare was born in London, of a respectable family, and educated at Eton. In 1688 he was admitted of King's Coll. Cambridge, where he proceeded A. B. 1692, A. M. 1696. He subsequently became Tutor of his College, and also to Anthony Collins, afterwards of sceptical notoriety, and to the Marquis of Blandford, son of the great Duke of Marlborough. In 1708 he took the degree of D.D. and was appointed Dean of Worcester. In 1718 he was dismissed from his office of Chaplain to George I. from party prejudices. In 1726 he became Dean of St. Paul's; and in 1727 was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, whence, in 1731, he was translated to Chichester. He died in 1740.

He was distinguished by strength of understanding, considerable Classical learning, and a vigorous style of writing; but his attachment to unsound theories has prevented his critical works from obtaining lasting celebrity; his hypothesis of the Hebrew metres having sunk under the sounder and more judicious criticisms of Dr. Lowth and others; and his edition of Terence having been strangled as it were in its birth by that of Bentley.

In religion he was a latitudinarian, and a warm upholder of the right of private judgment. Perhaps the best known of his theological works is his "Letter to a young Clergyman on the difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the Holy Scriptures in the way of private judgment;" the object of which was to show, that, since such a study of the Scripture is an indispensable duty, it concerns all Christian societies to remove as much as possible those discouragements. This book was censured by Convocation, as tending to promote scepticism, by encouraging a loose way of thinking on matters of religion. *Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* Notwithstanding, however, his theological errors, he appears from the following letters to have been a steady and judicious friend. See *Hurd's Life of Warburton* passim, where some extracts from these letters are given.—Ed.]

29 January, 1735.

SIR,

As I am one of those you have favoured with a present of a very ingenious performance in defence of the Established Church, I think myself obliged to return you my hearty thanks for it. I had formerly been very agreeably entertained with some emendations of yours on Shakspeare, and was extremely pleased to find this work was by the same hand. Good learning, great acuteness, an ingenious working head, and depth of thought, will always please in an author, though we are not entirely in the same ways of thinking. I have not courage enough to raise theories in matters of government. I can neither lay down fixed and clear principles, nor deduce from them, in things of so complex a nature, a long train of consequences. Theory and fact are generally very different things: a writer may tell me what he thinks a government, to make it perfect, should be; but I can never expect to find by theory what any government upon earth in fact is, or ever was. Governments were not founded in philosophy, or formed by philosophers; on the contrary, the beginnings of most were very rude and imperfect, and by time and experience, and a great variety of incidents, have been brought to be what they are. But, notwithstanding these are my own sentiments, I have been very well entertained with your thoughts upon these matters, and should be glad it were in my

power to draw so ingenious and learned a man into the light of the world, that both his merit might be rewarded and his abilities improved. When any thing brings you into these parts, I shall be very glad to see you at the Deanery, and then we may talk over some of these things which I cannot enter into by letter. You have not, sir, only my thanks for what you have done, but my sincere wishes that what was intended for the service of the public may prove also to be for your own, to which my endeavours, in any proper way, shall not be wanting, being truly,

Sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

Fr. Cicest.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.*

Dear Sir,

I have this day received the favour of yours of the 13th, with the kind present that attended it, for which I give you many thanks.

You do me a great deal too much honour in inscribing your remarks upon Paterculus to me in the manner you have done. As I have not the book by me, I am not so capable of judging of the truth

* Though this and the following Letter refer to a subject foreign from the Divine Legation, they are inserted here to keep up the chronological order of the Correspondence.

of the emendations, but, upon a slight view, see they are many of them very ingenious, as all your things are, and seem to arise out of the context, which is the best evidence there can be of the truth of them. I wish your printers had done you more justice. There are a great many typographical faults, and I think some that must be imputed to the haste of the editor, who seems to have attended more to the matter than to his expression. Some of your emendations put me in mind of what I remember to have heard a very ill-natured, but a very able critic observe of Tanaquil Faber; that he could see a fault very well, but did not always know how to mend it. It will, I presume, by nobody be thought strange if that should be the case in some of your conjectures, when it is but an essay, or specimen, not an edition, you give to the world. But as that is what you have done, I think so ingenious a man, who knows how easy it is to be mistaken in these matters, should generally express himself with a seeming diffidence.

You will forgive this liberty in one who is, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your most faithful friend
and humble servant,
Fr. Cicest.

The Vache, near Gerrard's Cross, Bucks, 18 Nov. 1736.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Vache, 4 Dec. 1736.

SIR,

I have the favour of yours of the 26th, which I scarce know how to thank you for. You are by much an overmatch for a plain man; and, if I did not think you a very good-natured man, and of a disposition extremely obliging, I should suspect you thought me a very weak one, to think myself entitled in any degree to all the fine things you are pleased to say. In earnest, I must desire you would drop all ceremony in your correspondence with me. A man that can write so well should not employ his pen in things so unnecessary as compliments.

You extend my hint about Tan. Faber much further than I intended it; nothing was further from my thoughts than to make the application general. I know you can and have made very fine emendations, but sometimes the ablest critic, who is sure he sees a fault, may, for want of proper helps, not be able to mend it with any degree of certainty. He may restore the sense when he cannot restore the words; and for that reason all emendations, though by the same hand, are not to be put upon a level, and consequently should not, in my opinion, be given with the same air of assurance. As I could not think all your emend-

ations upon Paterculus equally true, I think the speaking of them in the same manner, instead of giving weight or credit to bad or doubtful ones, does really detract from good ones; because many a reader who cannot make an emendation for himself, may yet be so far a tolerable judge as to find sufficient reason to dislike where he should dislike in one or two instances; and if he finds them proposed with a shew of certainty, he will suspect the truth of others where he is not so able to judge; and in truth I have always found in fact, that nothing hurts critics, and the art of criticism, so much in the esteem of the generality of readers, next to the ill treatment of one another, as the airs of assurance they are so apt to assume to themselves. The ground of criticism is indeed, in my opinion, nothing else but *distinct attention*, which every reader should endeavour to be master of. Where there is in nature this ground-work, every man will be a critic in proportion to the compass of his learning in general, and upon each author in proportion to the particular application with which he has made the book familiar to him. But I am talking to one who has joined to a naturally clear attention, and great application, a happy genius and a fine imagination, which I wish for the good of learning you may very long enjoy; and am,

Sir,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

Fr. Cicest.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

21 Feb. 1737.

DEAR SIR,

I have the favour of yours of the 16th, and am much obliged to you for your kind concern for my health. By taking early precautions my cold is nearly past, and I hope, if the weather should come to be a little warmer, I should get quite rid of it. I have kept pretty much within doors, and, were it not my month of residence at St. Paul's, should do quite so. Colds are at this time very general complaints, and hardly any body is free from them.

I hear nobody speak of your book who do not express themselves as highly entertained with it, though they think the principal point which remains to be proved, a paradox. The compliments you have bestowed on your humble servant are some restraint upon me in expressing in conversation how much I am myself pleased with it. I have seen nobody yet that has read it through. When I hear any objections to it, it shall not, in the absence of its author, want any defence I can make, who am with great truth,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

FR. CICEST.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

28 Feb. 1737.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for yours of the 25th, and should have given you no further trouble, till you should give me the pleasure of seeing you in town, had it not been to communicate to you the inclosed paper, the contents of which I did not hear of till yesterday; and, as I thought it fit you should see it, I take the first opportunity to send it to you, upon a supposition that you might not otherwise come soon to the knowledge of it. You will consider, first, whether you should take any notice of it or not; and next, if you should, in what manner, whether by a short pamphlet, or by a letter in some newspaper; and whether in your own name or in the person of another. I cannot at all guess who the writer is, but I should suspect it to be Dr. Waterland, sooner than any body else I know, or Dr. Webster himself; perhaps in a little time it may be known, or guessed at, at least, with more certainty. I do not wonder to find you attacked, but I hoped it would not have been so soon, nor with so much warmth. I do not know what to advise in a matter I have had no time to consider of, but think some defence is pretty necessary; but I desire you would not be too hasty in it, and that it may be with more temper than one is apt to write with under so much provocation.

I am, dear sir,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

FR. CICEST.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

9 March 1737.

DEAR SIR,

I had some talk to day at the House with the Bishop of Sarum, who told me he had written to you, and, if I should write, that he would not add to his own letter.

We were both of opinion there was a necessity of a defence, and that it should be written with temper, not only for the general reasons for doing so, but that, in this case particularly, you should write to the cool and serious, since some of them might take offence, and not only as to the violent and hot-headed. The great difficulty is what to say with respect to Dr. Mid[dleton]. If you say nothing of him, you might as well not write at all; since it is certainly that which gives the great offence. And how to do that so as not to hurt him, and yet excuse yourself, is hard to say.

We were of opinion that that commendation of him, as an *able adversary*, should be put upon the ability with which he has argued against the Freethinkers *upon their own principles*. I am very sorry I did not express my apprehensions upon the commendation you give him with respect to Tully's Life, which perhaps would have prevented this passage; but I forbore, out of great tenderness, and indeed out of a point of honour, having been told he looked on me as an enemy, in being against

some preferments he has been pushing for, though indeed without reason. It is true I was for other persons, but without having heard, or in the least suspecting, he was a competitor, though, indeed, had I known it, I should, in my judgment, have been against him, not from any ill-will to him, but because I truly think no one thing can hurt the King and his Government more than distinguishing by his favours men marked for heterodoxy or infidelity. Nothing has more alienated the minds of the University, Clergy, and serious Christians, than the jealousies that have been long entertained of this kind. And this is the single reason for which I should be against Dr. M[iddleton]'s promotion by the Crown; who is certainly a very ingenious man, and has a fine pen. The Bishop of Sarum talked with me in the presence of the Bishop of Oxford; and I was surprised to hear it said that your friendship with him commenced since his writing against Dr. Waterland. I have since that time read nothing of his except an answer to Dr. Pearce's; and, I must own, I was extremely offended at the insolence it is written with. He tells Dr. Pearce, in the first leaf of his book, that he will never be able to write a page like him as long as he lives, and he treats Dr. Waterland likewise with great rudeness.

But these are things that do not enter into the present consideration. Something you must say;

but *in loco lubrico* the less you say the less offence can be taken by any side.

I still find more and more that the treatment of you in the Miscellany is very generally disapproved, —I should rather say detested.

We had to-day a long debate upon the army, which made me come home late, and therefore you will excuse my saying no more. The division was 75 to 29 present; proxies 24 to 6; that is, in all 99 to 35.

Yours,

Fr. Cicest.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

23 Mar. 1737.

Dear Sir,

I received yesterday your Vindication, which I read twice over with great satisfaction. You have more than kept your word, in promising that you would write with temper. I wish you had shewn a little more resentment upon the first point, the misrepresentation is so very gross; not but that you have in reality chosen the better part; too much temper is a thing few writers are guilty of, under much less provocation, and, with equitable judges, will turn greatly to your credit; but I do truly wish you had quoted the passage in your own book, instead of referring to it, which would,

without saying more, have made the misrepresentation appear more flagrant; and I was pleased to find the Bishops of Sarum and Bristol, who are just gone from me, of the same opinion. But they thought, as I do, that the reason of your not doing it was, that it was quite unnecessary in so gross an instance of abuse . . . . . The part that relates to Dr. Mid[dleton] the bishops think extremely well done. It was the only difficult part; and it cannot but please every candid writer, to see you do justice to yourself, and yet not do it at his expense, nor say a word that either he or his friends can be offended at, or that is in the least giving up a man with whom you have a friendship: here is integrity and courage very agreeably joined . . . . . .

I give you many thanks for your last letter. The Miscellany comes out on Fridays, but I got a sight of it on Thursday night last, in order to have sent it you by that post, if there had been in it the letter we were made to expect, but I had yesterday the satisfaction to hear it had been stopped by somebody's interposition, I know not whose. I am,

Dear Sir,

most faithfully yours,

Fr. Cicestr.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

Vache, 18 Oct. 1737.

Dear Sir,

Being got hither into my retirement, I did not receive the favour of yours of the 11th till the 14th. I am extremely obliged to you for it, and for the present that attended it, and you should have had my thanks by the last post, but that I was willing to defer till I could tell you I had read it over, which I have now done with great pleasure, to which it was some addition that it is anticipated, and comes so much sooner than it could have done if I had seen none until I could have seen it all. I can say, without any compliment, that your papers have given me high delight. So many beautiful thoughts,—such ingenious illustrations of them,—such a clear connexion, such a deduction of notions, and so much good learning upon so useful a subject, all expressed in proper and fine language, cannot but give an intelligent reader the greatest satisfaction.

I am particularly glad to see Bayle, and the Fable of the Bees, make a part of the subject. The latter you have thoroughly confuted in a very few pages. The other, as I believe it is the best defence of Atheism that was ever made, deserved to be dissected, and to have its fallacies laid open with some exactness . . . . . I could

wish you had been a little more explicit in p. 45, which at present to me seems obscure; whether it will appear so to other readers I know not. I doubt the adversaries will think you have yourself helped them to an answer to what you urge from the words *oblige and obligation*, that it infers an *obliger*, since you admit, in page 51, that God is *obliged* by his own wisdom. I have the satisfaction to see some notions touched upon, and some pretty largely explained, which I have thought very material, and have wondered to have them so little generally attended to, as in page 83, upon the Gospel, and page 97, upon the qualities assigned their gods, as regarding both the genius and nature of the civil government. This, I think, is the true reason God does not appear in so amiable a view in the Old Testament as in the New. But I wish you could have given any ancient instance of one that was gentle, &c. People do not consider the imperfect state of morality in the older times, compared with what it was in more enlightened times, and among the Greeks, particularly the Platonists and Stoics, and afterwards among Christians, who borrowed from both. I doubt "*barbarous project of Eastern policy*" will be applied to the Mosaic Law, which has all the appearance of being intended to be immutable. How comes ὅρκοις, page 111, to be rendered *sacraments?* I think you have very well answered Dr. Bentley as to the dialect of

Zal[eucus]' Laws, perhaps as to the Pythagorism of them. But I think not as to the *words or expressions*, for what can the changes be supposed to be made for? what words in room of what? Besides, what instance is there of changing the language of any Grecian law? It is certainly genuine. One sees by Homer how permanent a language the Greek was, since, though some words are posterior to him, yet his never came to be obsolete or unintelligible. But, indeed, I think the whole, from the turn and manner, appears to be a spurious piece; it is mere preaching,—the language of a philosopher, not a law maker, finely written, and for that very reason not genuine. In the time of the Ptolemies, writing was brought to great perfection, τραγῳδίαις κ. τ. λ. is quite rhetorical, almost poetical. I wonder you have translated ἀδικίαν "evil," when the context made it so necessary to preserve the word "*injustice*." But the greatest fault I have to find is the notice taken of your humble servant, who can pretend to but a very little knowledge in the matters he is quoted for, though nothing can be more true than the observation itself; and we cannot without amazement see men of the best learning arguing for the integrity of the Hebrew Text from the great care of the Masorites, when it is plain the mischief was done before the remedy was applied, and probably applied for that reason, to hinder things from growing worse.

Whatever becomes of your conclusion, you will be in the case of the inquirer after the philosopher's stone: they who will not allow that, yet will allow the inquiry has struck out many fine and curious observations. The generality of readers will certainly think it a great paradox; and for that reason I could wish you had not to your conclusion, page 7, immediately subjoined these words, "*But so great is men's love of paradox.*" This is a great instance in what a different light men see their own sentiments from [what] others do, to whom they are new.

You see I have read your papers by the liberty I have taken. I again thank you most heartily for the perusal of them, and shall with some impatience expect the sequel. I do not doubt but you have considered well Puffendorf's Introduction, where he deduces the foundations of moral and civil duties from the nature of society alone. What you say of the triple cord is very just, and extremely well observed and explained: things so united, ought not to have been separated; but authors are fond of pushing their own favourite notion, whichever it be of the three, beyond its due bounds, and make it all in all, or alone necessary, when it is so only in conjunction with the others; and it is what I think yourself have done, in expression at least, when you say, page 23, l. ult., that the doctrine of a future state is the *only* support of religion.

But it is time to have done. I have sufficiently tired you by this hasty scribble, which I hope you will not only forgive, but accept of as a proof, at least, of my being very sincerely,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend
and humble servant,
Fr. Cicestr.

Be pleased to direct to me to the Deanery.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

November 11, 1737.

Dear Sir,

I should sooner have acknowledged the favour of yours of the 23rd, but that I was interrupted in my course of writing, by going for a few days to London to pay my court on the birth-day, and since that, have had my hands full of business.

I received by the last post, the sheets O, P, Q. They came to my hands just as I had made an end of running over the 6th Book of Virgil. What you have said upon the mysteries, and upon this book, has opened to us a new scene, with which I think every reader must be highly delighted, as I am sure I have been; whether convinced or not, every body must allow it is extremely ingenious, though they may suspend their assent as to the truth. I won't trouble you with any remarks of

my own upon any particular passages, because that will serve only to give you a great deal of trouble in favouring me with a particular answer to them; and for the same reason will not trouble you with any replies to your last; but I will keep your letter, and, when I have an opportunity, will go over all the parts of it with you. I will read the whole carefully over a second time, and, when I am at London among my books, will examine such quotations as I want further information about. I shall think no trouble too much, in examining a work that is so improving, as well as entertaining. I will now only take notice of one thing, which your quoting Wollaston's Religion of Nature, page 240, reminds me of; and which I should have mentioned before, and that is, the Quixotism you charge that work with. I think as to the sense of the place as you do, that his *Truth* is mere cant, and substituting a new term for an old thing, which all reasonable men were before agreed in; but so serious and laboured a performance should not be treated in so ludicrous a manner; that will give great offence to the admirers of it; but, besides that, I have a particular reason* for advising the altering that passage, which you shall know at a proper time. I mentioned it at London to the Bishop of Sarum, who, I found, had for the general reasons given you the same advice. But I would advise not only the

* See Hurd's Life of Warburton, p. 26, 4to ed.

cancelling of that leaf, but the doing it immediately, that it may not get into many hands: when I see you, I am persuaded you will allow this is right advice from a friend . . . . . .

I do not know how necessary it might be to your scheme, but, if it be not necessary, I could wish what relates to the alliance between Church and State had not been taken in here; for I take Church and State to be quite new language, wholly owing to Christianity, and the teachers of it, unknown to the Pagan world. Though it be admitted, that the first and chief end of the magistrate be temporal matters, yet, by a reverse of the Pope's claim, if religion be necessary for civil government, it comes under the magistrate's care, "*Spiritualia in ordine ad temporalia;*" and religion, so far as it concerns the being of a God and a Providence, is certainly such. Yourself go further, and admit that the mysteries themselves, and all the religious institutions of the Pagan world, were immediately from the Lawgivers. "*Rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos,*" in the sense of it, I think, shews this; and it is of no government truer than the Egyptian; and the priest's, just at first, was, I apprehend, purely ministerial, so that they had no notion of two societies, one civil and the other religious: it was one and the same society, under the same chief magistrate, and *religious* did no more constitute a society than *military* did.

I wish you could have found more of the mysteries among the older writers; but their being mysteries has prevented it. I cannot but think the modern Platonists brought in many modern refinements to spiritualize them, and that that was in some measure owing to Christianity. I see you have read Jamblichus: I wish, if you have not done it, you would read some orations or epistles in Julian, which are full of these matters, though they are such mysterious stuff, that I confess I had not patience to read them myself. I think one sees by them that he was extremely superstitious, and that he despised Christianity because it was a plain simple thing compared with their mysteries, as then taught.

The Fathers were certainly very unjust in their treatment of Socrates and others; but what led them to it, besides the provocation they had, was the old comic poets. After the stage was restrained from abusing the magistrate, as we see by Aristophanes the old comedy did, they then fell upon the philosophers, just as in later days they have done upon priests. They found such plays pleased the people best; the more satire the better. And Aristophanes, in his *Nubes*, shewed the way to all that came after. I believe you will find the Fathers supporting this charge against the philosophers, chiefly by citations from the comic writers. I remember this was my notion between 30 and 40 years ago, when those things were more

in my way than they have been since, and therefore I cannot answer for it that I am in the right. I could wish your sentence about the legitimate use of ecclesiastical power had been left out, since established matters of Government should not, I think, be shaken *obitèr*, and in a transient matter. Such remarks deserve great consideration, and may besides give offence where one would not choose to do it.

But I find I have run out into many things I did not intend, when I begun to write. You will excuse this hasty scribble, and do not let it draw you off from what you are about, to give yourself the trouble of a long answer. I chose to vent these things as they arose under my pen by way of suggestion only, which may occasion your reflecting upon some of them in discussing your own notions. I wish you well at the end of your work, and am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

Fr. Cicestr.

Sacramentum is nothing but the translation of μυστήριον; so the Vulgate, and from thence other writers.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

The great critic * is obliged to you for letting Vizzanius pass. He has so great abilities in the

* Dr. Bentley.

critical way, that he need not be a plagiary; but his vanity is so extravagantly great, he cannot help it. If the doctor's moral qualities were equal to his intellectual ones, he would be a wonderful man; but it unfortunately happens that he is as distinguishedly deficient in one, as he is excellent in the other. There is more curious learning in his answer to the Oxford Critics than I ever saw in any book of that compass;* but I did not therefore believe that he did not steal from Vizzanius.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

22 May 1738.

DEAR SIR,

I am glad to see by yours of the 12th, which by my being out of town did not come to my hands till Saturday, that you are got safe back into your old quarters. Having been all last week till Saturday night from home, I have not yet seen the last Miscellany; but I think, as your friends do, you should let them go on without any answer for the present. When they have done, I suppose, they will reprint all their letters in a pamphlet by themselves; and then it will be time enough to consider what notice should be taken of them. I think there is no great matter in any I have yet seen; nothing but what would arise in the mind of any careful reader. But, if they had more rea-

* Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris.

son on their side, there is so malicious a spirit runs through them, such an endeavour to put the worst sense upon every thing, and such strained constructions put upon words, as must offend all candid readers, since it is so gross that everybody must observe it. They have overdosed their prescription, which will, in great measure, render it ineffectual; and, though I wish you had given no handle to any of their reflections, yet I am strongly persuaded it will in the end turn out to your advantage.

I am, with my best wishes for your success in every thing,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

Fr. Cicest.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

8 June 1738.

Dear Sir,

I happened to be out of town upon rambles when the last month's Miscellanies came out, and in the hurry I afterwards forgot to send for them before I left the town; but, in truth, from what I had seen in the former I could pretty well guess at the contents of them, and had no great inclination to read pieces in which there appeared so studied a malice; though I have been told that some concerned in that paper, and I believe in those parti-

cularly, have said of one of them, that they were written by the best pen in England; meaning, no doubt, Dr. Waterland.

I am a little in doubt whether your book would have found so good quarter in Italy and France as you seem to apprehend, since it is not a single stroke of the pen that opposes the commonly received opinions of the sense of the ancients upon so important a subject as a future state; but it is a laboured point, and is an argument the freethinkers cannot fail to make their advantage of, to fortify themselves in their infidelity, when they are told they have all the wisest men of the heathen world, and the men that reasoned best, on their side.

I have no objection to your intention of publishing your Sermon with a Postscript, in the manner you propose. . . . . .

I have been told the Miscellanies have had an influence on many of the inferior clergy, and raised a spirit against your book. They who are willing to think and speak more candidly, defend themselves from what they hope to see in the second part, or at least desire, till then, they may be permitted to suspend their judgment.

I wish you health and success, and am,

Dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

Fr. Cicest.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

1 Dec. 1738.

DEAR SIR,

I received yesterday the favour of your letter, as I did the beginning of the week your present, for which I return you many thanks. I was extremely pleased to see a second edition of your book so soon, notwithstanding all the pains taken to damn and stifle it in its birth. I turned it over as soon as it came to me to see the additions you had made, which I take for granted are in a manner wholly in the notes, with such alterations only in the text as to make it correspond with the notes; but when I can get time I shall do myself the pleasure to read the whole again. I believe since the first clamours of the Miscellany were over all is now very quiet, at least I heard nothing to the contrary; and people will now calmly read and judge for themselves; and they that do so with any degree of temper and candour, will find a great deal of pleasure and instruction. I hope not only posterity, but the present age will do justice to so much merit, and do assure you it shall not be my fault if it do not. I only wish my power were equal to my inclination to serve [you], and then you should soon find with how much affection and esteem I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

FR. CICEST.

I write from the country, and therefore can tell you no news.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

20 Jan. 1739.

DEAR SIR,

I have the favour of yours of the 31st, upon which I have very little to say. The event will show whether others make the same objections I have done, or whether your answer will satisfy.

P. 6, "*and as we have commonly received it.*" This, I think, is not true; and the authority of such a wretch as Tindal nobody will think ought to have found any credit with you.

The fault is not that you censure Prideaux's notion, but because it is done in so scornful a manner, and for a notion that it is not his, but Dr. Hyde's, who has laboured the point with much pains, though without judgment, and upon sad authorities. Hyde makes this Zoroaster a second to the ancient one, and only a reviver of the system and doctrine of the first, which had fallen into some corruptions; and the main work, if I remember right, ascribed to him, is the Persian Liturgy.

Mr. Leland's book, take it from beginning to end, is the best, and least exceptionable, and most useful of any English book I ever read. I did not know you had any intercourse with, or had received any civilities from Mr. Chapman. I did not dislike your mentioning *your superiors*, as done in an offensive manner; no, I thought it more for your interest to *seem not to know it*;—that forces,

sometimes, persons to show themselves adversaries more than otherwise they would choose to do. They may be softened afterwards, and inclined to be friends; and to this it is a check to know the party concerned openly speaks of them as known and determined enemies. Besides, telling the world so, is telling many what they did not know before, and who thereby become themselves to be of the number.

The compliment to M[iddleton] has, no doubt, a great share in the offence taken; but the principal arises, I think, from your having taken so much pains to prove that all the wise men of the heathen world disbelieved a future state: the obvious inference from which is, that there can be good reason for believing it; and that all who are infidels in this point now, if they err, err in good company, since they have all the ancient sages on their side. This, joined to the compliments on M[iddleton] will be made use of to explain it, and he will be thought to be applauded for his infidelity . . . .

P. 40. I could wish you had left out those words, "*frightened with the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt.*" This cannot but give offence, it is so scornful and insulting; and the more as Mr. Shuckford is a very modest, good-natured man, and well-beloved; and the passage is the more likely to offend, as you do not say what this high antiquity is. He could not be unwilling to allow all the antiquity consistent with Scripture

chronology. And as for the pretended antiquity of 30 or 40,000 years, that, I believe, strikes nobody with panic now a-days. The word *common* makes the reflection very general. As to Mr. Shuckford himself, though a very ingenious man, he is, I think, a good deal too confident for an historian, and heaps one conjecture so thick upon another, in the same argument, that the result from such premises cannot but be very weak.

P. 46. Note, "*morbos ad iram*," &c. so in ancient times was every thing they could not account for. They knew little of second causes, and therefore immediately had recourse to the first. This is every where the case in Scripture. I was pleased to see in the Oneirocritics θεόπεμπτον ὄνειρον, explained by ἀπροσδόκητον.

There is a little French book, written by Le Clerc, about 58, called, I think, "Entretiens Métaphysiques," in which there is a great deal upon this point. The whole I thought a very entertaining book. You have said pretty much the same thing, p. 59; only the ancients carried it still further, to every thing they did or could not do themselves.

P. 60. "*The ancients gave nothing to gods*," &c. Surely this is not true. They allowed the inventors to be inspired or assisted by the gods, as well as that their lawgivers received their laws from them. It is true, they did ascribe to the gods things beyond their knowledge, *ad Deos originem referre*, as Livy observes in his Introduction,

but it is not, I think, true exclusively; they ascribed other things to them likewise.

Not having my books with me, I do not know whether Herodotus and Diodorus can be reconciled, but πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα is, I apprehend, not "more than *the* 30 days," but "more than 30 days;" but this depends on the context. It should be ἐκείνων τῶν τριῶν, to signify *the* 30 days.

You have shown yourself a notable physician. I wish you as good success in all that is to follow, and am, Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

FR. CICEST.

BISHOP HARE TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

9 May 1739.

DEAR SIR,

I should not trouble you so soon with an answer to the letter I am but just now favoured with, but that I am going to-morrow for a few days into the country, to try if it will remove a cough that has long hung upon me. Sir Th. H[anmer]'s proceeding with respect to Shakespeare is very extraordinary. I doubt the friend for whom he wanted the £200 was his own dear self.* I think you do very well to get your own papers out of his hands. It is pity they have been so long in them, since it is probable he has squeezed what he could out of them, which is most ungenerous treatment. I

* See p. 84.

hope you will find leisure to give the world a Shakespeare yourself, which the sooner it is made known the better. That will mortify Sir Thomas, and perhaps drive him at last into some agreement with you; since, otherwise, if you come after him, his edition will either not come out, or not sell, which he could very ill bear, especially as he has so good an opinion of his work.

Mr. Romaine's sermon was some ago put into my hands. I read the title page, but had no inclination nor leisure to read more of it at that time, nor indeed have I had any more inclination to it since. I think I know what he has to say, and that he must mistake the true points in controversy. I hope you will from this instance be cautious of writing to persons you do not very well know either personally or by their general character. For my own part, I hate giving a single line under my hand to anybody I do not very well like, because I do not know what use may be made of it; "*litera scripta manet.*" Since the account you give me of the sermon, perhaps I may run it over at my return.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

Fr. Cicest.

THE HON. CHARLES YORKE TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

[CHARLES YORKE, second son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, was born in 1722. He was educated at a school at Hackney, and studied first at Bene't College, Cambridge, and afterwards at Lincoln's Inn; M.A. 1749; Solicitor General 1756; Attorney General 1761; appointed Lord Chancellor January 17, 1770, and created a Peer by the title of Baron Morden, but died on the 20th of the same month, before his patent was completed.

Having accepted, as it is said, the Seals at the urgent entreaty of his Sovereign, his acute sensibility was so wounded by the cold and averted looks of his party, who, being in strong opposition to the Court, disapproved the step he had taken, that in the first poignant agonies of chagrin and despair, he went home and died suddenly, it is said, by the bursting of a blood vessel.

"Charles Yorke," says Adolphus, "had studied the Laws and Constitution of his country, and their application to the science of politics, in the best school of the age; and was no less eminent at the bar than in the esteem of the most enlightened statesmen. His extensive literary acquirements, his great abilities, and the integrity of his character, were well known, and universally respected."—Nor was he merely a lawyer and a statesman, but had a taste and a genius for almost the whole circle of polite literature. His active life did not leave him much leisure for authorship, but his pamphlet, entitled, "Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture for High Treason," first published in 1745, has gone through several editions. His talents for poetry also were far from inconsiderable.

He maintained an intimate and confidential correspondence with

many of his cotemporaries most distinguished for intellectual powers and acquirements.

With Bishop Warburton he corresponded at the age of twenty on the subject of his profoundest works.—*(Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.—Collins's Peerage.—Georgian Æra.)*

The following Letters written by him at about that age, show an extent of reading, a ripeness of judgment, and a precision of thought rarely to be met with so early in life. They discover also (with perhaps a single exception) what is more and better, an ingenuous modesty, and a reverence for revealed Truth; qualities which will generally be found to characterise those who have drunk deepest at the purest sources of good learning.—Ed.]

Lincoln's Inn, Thursday Evening, July 28, 1743.

Dear Sir,

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you in town, Moyle's Remarks on Prideaux's Connection, and the story of the Thundering Legion, fell into my hands. I believe I told you I was so ignorant as not even to have heard of them before your recommendation. The latter performance is very finished and elaborate: the first has some material observations on the subjects which it treats. In it, to my surprise, I found the following paragraph:—"I shall begin with Herodotus, a Persian governor and soldier, who directly affirms that the Persians of his age had no temples. . . . . Cicero says that Xerxes, by the instigation of the Magians, set fire to the temples in Greece, upon this principle, that the universe was the temple of the gods, who ought to be at large and unconfined,

and not cooped up in walls. He has given the true reason for the aversion which the Persians bore to temples, which did not proceed, as you suppose, from an abhorrence of worshipping the gods by images. And Herodotus's reason, rightly understood, is the same with Cicero's."

You see the remark is the same with that I took the liberty to write to you in a letter, and you may easily imagine I should not have troubled you with it had I been previously informed of this. I will add, however, one authority to support it. Xenophon, relating in the Cyrop. l. viii. c. 44, a sacrifice and prayer which Cyrus made just before his death, says it was celebrated on the top of a mountain, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, speaking in the present tense.

Mr. Moyle has not taken notice of what I intimated besides; that it had been extremely material for Herodotus to have told us (if the Zoroaster of the Eastern Chronicles had appeared), that Darius, the great destroyer of the sect of the Magi, on whose story he enlarges very copiously and finely, became afterwards the great restorer of it. Nor does he observe or mention the passage in the first book of Herodotus, c. 86, in which the historian, reciting all the possible reasons which could induce Cyrus to burn Crœsus, industriously says nothing of any view he had to punishment, but confines it merely to religion, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων, εἴτε δὴ ἀκροβίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὁτεῳδὴ, εἴτε καὶ

εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν· Βουλόμενος ἐιδέναι ἤ τίς μιν Δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. I think no less than five inferences may be drawn from this passage.

1. That it is probable the Persians were so far from being pure worshippers, that they were sunk in the very dregs of barbarous idolatry; for none but the most unpolished idolaters offered sacrifices of the captives conquered and taken in war, as the *primitiæ* of their victory.

2. That if what Xenophon (Cyrop. l. viii. c. 6) says of the religious worship, regulated in the time and under the direction of Cyrus, being conveyed down entire even to his days, be true, this place in Herodotus will furnish us with an idea of Cyrus's religious notions, and give us but a mean idea both of the improvements made in it by that prince, and of its state in the age of Xenophon.

3. The two passages thus taken together will furnish one argument, that there could be no such person as the second Zoroaster, who made so excellent a reformation in the Persian ritual by the encouragement of Darius Hystaspes; for if he had ever lived and done these great things, Xenophon could not have told us religion subsisted among the Persians on the same establishment in his own time as in Cyrus's; and, though he blames them for degeneracy in military virtue, yet he must have

said, in justice to that people, that they were greatly enlightened in theology.

4. The passage in Herodotus will serve another very material purpose, to destroy a notion which Mr. Moyle starts and admits, and which Dr. Prideaux, to save a sinking hypothesis, very readily lays hold of; it is that of the first Zoroaster being other than a mere idolater. Prideaux, in the last letter of the Correspondence, from a dark passage in Arnobius, infers that he lived in Cyrus's reign, and supposes him to have been the institutor of the Magian worship, approaching nearly to the truth, and the teacher of all those tenets which, in pp. 252, 3, 4, of the 1st vol. of the Connection, it is said the Magi were possessed of at the death of Cambyses, to which additions and enlargements were made by the later prophets of his name.

5. If what has been observed be well founded, it will go to the root of another opinion, which has very generally prevailed, that the Magi were contradistinguished from the Sabians as pure worshippers; the one adoring fire merely as emblematical of the good deity; the other paying immediate adoration to images as to the true God. Now it seems plain to me, if Zoroaster, the contemporary of Cyrus, had the adulterated notions which his master's practice would charge upon him, that the Magi, who were his followers, must have been equally corrupt with their neighbours.

I would search a little to the bottom of this

matter. The reason of the distinction did not arise from the sect of the Magi being true, and the Sabians being false worshippers, but from the different *modes* of their false worship. Herodotus, l. i. c. 131, has a very odd passage; his words are these:—"It is a maxim with the Persians to erect no statues or images [ἀγάλματα], temples, or altars; and they even upbraid those who erect them with folly, for this reason, as I think, because they do not, like the Greeks, believe the gods to be ἀνθρωποφυέας, of human extraction." If then this was the opinion of the Persians, we have on the one hand a satisfactory reason for the abhorrence the Magi had of images which took their original from thence; but, though they believed nothing of the hero-gods, yet, on the other hand, they worshipped the natural divinities, and none else; which accounts for their adoration to fire. What the historian says afterwards strangely and exactly tallies with this opinion. "They choose to sacrifice to Jupiter on the highest mountains, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες (which, by the way, is a remarkable exposition of what they meant by Jupiter). They sacrifice likewise to the sun, the moon, the earth, the fire, the water, and the winds. They used of old to offer only to these. They have since learnt from the Assyrians and Arabians to sacrifice to Venus Urania, whom the Assyrians call Mylitta, the Arabians Alitta, the Persians *Mithras*;" which, every

one knows, is a name these last gave to the principal fire in the mundane system. One thing more may be offered plausibly in support of this sentiment; that it is very remarkable Persia has not added one hero to the catalogue of gods, but they are furnished mostly by Egypt and Greece.

I cannot avoid taking notice of a passage which Mr. M. cites from Nicolaus Damascenus, whence he argues that Zoroaster was more ancient than Cyrus, and from whence the existence of a book like the Zenda is imagined by him, though he would not be understood to mean the modern forgeries. That writer tells us, "When the Persians were burning Crœsus, they bethought themselves of the oracles or laws of Zoroaster, which forbade such a profanation of fire." But Herodotus says nothing of this difficulty, which is affirmed to have arisen in the midst of the ceremony. Indeed, it is absurd to imagine, on so solemn an occasion, if any such law had been known, that it would not either have occurred to their observation before, or not have been mentioned at all. The historian's account is more natural, that the invocation of Solon made an impression upon Cyrus, and a violent shower of rain falling which extinguished the flames of the pile, he took it to be an indication of celestial favour to Crœsus, and on that account not only ordered him to be taken down, but even received him into confidence. Now if the reason suggested by Nicol. Damasc. for saving Crœsus

very probably never entered into Cyrus's mind, nor had any influence in the affair, the credit of one testimony at least for believing the Zoroaster who lived before or in the time of that king to be the admired legislator of the Persians, and the inspired book of his laws to be the standard of their conduct, is destroyed.

The supposition of two books will be of as little service as that of the two prophets. In the latter case, there are various arguments to overthrow the facts endeavoured to be established by the opinion: in the former, the very apposite place you once pointed out to me in the Alcoran will confute, not only the authority of the Zendavist, which is read at present among the Güebres, and is imputed to the second Zoroaster, but even the probability of any book written by the first, as Nic. Dam. intimates, and which Mr. M. thinks was genuine, and is now lost. However, this it cannot be rash to say, if the book which Moyle infers to have existed once was never quoted or applied to the occasion of sacrificing Crœsus, we have no reason, from the testimony of the writer whom he cites, to admit the existence of that book.

Before I conclude my letter, I must hint an answer to an objection which now strikes me, and may, perhaps, be made to my joining the two places in Herodotus and Xenophon, and reasoning from them united; that they are writers of very different genius, treat Cyrus's story in so different

a manner, the one as an historian, the other as a novelist, that to illustrate the one by the other is like endeavouring to ascertain truth by fiction and romance. But I think we may distinguish in Xenoph. Instit. of Cyrus, between such facts as he manifestly invents, either to raise the character of his prince, or embellish his work, and such as being introduced *obitèr* have nothing to do with the *justi effigies imperii* (which Tully says he painted), and seem to be colours or strokes of truth worked up or mixed with his fable, to give an air of seriousness and probability to the whole. Many facts he entirely omits or varies, as that of the design to sacrifice Crœsus: why? because he saw it would not redound to Cyrus's credit, and would give a tincture of gross superstition to his character, which might scarce agree with the Grecian, much less with the Socratic manners he ascribes to him. But I see no reason why we should not give entire credit, when he asserts, in general, that religion was on the same footing in Persia during his own age as it was in that of Cyrus. And the rather as he is particularly reserved and silent on the subject, and assigns no extraordinary or romantic degree of purity to it.

You will excuse my impertinence in troubling you with these observations; but, inaccurate or ill-strung together as they may be, you must remember that you encouraged me to do it freely; and

while they were in my mind I chose to commit them to paper, rather than stay till I should have an opportunity of conversing with you. In the mean while, even though your partiality for me should find anything to please you here, I must beg you would not communicate the letter to any body else; for one can trust a friend with weaknesses, which it would be indiscreet and senseless, if not indecent, to disclose to others.

I am, most faithfully,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

CHAS. YORKE.

If you have the least command for me, I must acquaint you that I shall continue in London till the latter end of next week, and shall then turn rambler for the rest of the vacation.

THE HON. CHARLES YORKE TO THE REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

Lincoln's Inn, Tuesday, Dec. 20, 1743.

DEAR SIR,

If I fancied myself of importance enough in business, I should make an apology for not writing to you earlier from the length of the term, as you are pleased to do very politely from the dissipated state of your friends in the long vacation. I am sensible that I had every reason in the world to be

affected with the amiable expressions of your last letter, which I know how to feel and acknowledge as I ought; convinced, by the most elegant and certain proofs, that the principle of mind from which they flow will ever be the same in you.

The observations to which you seem partial, for their author's sake, were suggested by running over Moyle's Papers, and struck out in a heat; and, like what is struck out in the glow of disputation, have in some parts scarce approved themselves to my cooler thoughts. The distinction to be made concerning Xenophon's Inst. of Cyrus is, I believe, not entirely without foundation, because Xenophon, as a poet or novelist, must observe the decorum of his scene as to the manners of the age and country in which he lays it. The reasoning on the strange passage in Nic. Damasc. seemed conclusive, as far as that passage could operate to shew that Zoroaster had left a written book of Oracles or Law. Possibly, though I think it highly improbable, other testimonies may evince the existence of such book antiently, the loss and traditional report of which may have given rise and countenance to the modern forgery; just as false miracles have been formed on the credit of the true. You, who can see round the subject at one glance, may soon be ascertained of it.

For Zoroaster's age, Stanley (16th part, sect. 1. c. 1) has a material quotation from Agathias, L. 2, and a pertinent remark upon it. The historian

says, "Later writers mention that he lived in the time of Hystaspes (but Hystaspes simply, not Dar. Hystaspes). Now Hystaspes, the father of Darius, lived in the time of Cyrus; and Zoroaster cannot be much earlier." For his opinions I have looked into Cudworth since I wrote to you, who quotes the writers long after Christ for them; and it is known they build on the reputed oracles, of whose antiquity and sincerity this great scholar admits there can be no assurance. But though Zoroaster might believe in a supreme deity, of whom, like other philosophers, he had confused as well as inadequate conceptions, yet it is not clear that he was worshipped by the lawgiver or his followers. Thus far we proceed safely, but what has raised a doubt in my mind is the inference I built on Herodotus, Clio, c. 131. You upbraid your own forgetfulness as to a thing I found in Moyle, and very candidly remove the suspicion of it from me; whereas, on searching occasionally into the first volume of the Divine Legation the other day, I was severely mortified by proving myself guilty of it in an amazing instance. Indeed it would be unpardonable in one who reads your writings to forget any part of what he reads, if the fault did not carry its own punishment along with it. However, the truth is, I never reflected or remembered that you had cited the very passage I made use of and drawn an inference from it to another purpose. I will state what immediately occurs to me upon it

as well as I can, and expect from you both the correction and the pardon of my weakness. It is, p. 480–1, Divine Legation, vol. I. where you are reasoning against some moderns who think hero-worship the first idolatry (a matter, I am persuaded, that has been more enlightened by you than by any man who has treated of it since its origin); and you quote the passage from Herodotus about the Persian religion, and refer the Urania whom he speaks of to the idolatry of dead mortals; taking it that he marks out the progress of their religion from the natural to the hero-divinities. Now it is observable that the historian explains his Grecian term *Urania* by the Persian Mithras, the Assyrian Mylitta, and the Arabian Alytta; the first of which is by some interpreted of the Sun, by others of the Moon. But as to the two last, Stanley (part 15, c. 5) seems clear that they are to be understood of the Moon; if so, the first must be explained by them. That being admitted, one would imagine that Herodotus intimates the Persians adhered to the natural divinities. Perhaps Plato might allude to the same thing in the place cited by you from his Cratylus, "that the first men who inhabited Greece appear to have held these *only* for Gods, as do now many of the Barbarians, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων," &c. In one light, this adds force to the argument of Toland, since it shews that hero-idolatry was so far from being the first idolatry, that some nations never gave into it at all. But

then comes the difficulty, which I freely confess I cannot answer to the satisfaction of my own mind, how could the Persians have a local tutelary deity, except through the channel of hero-worship? such unquestionably they had: the answer of the Magi to Xerxes shews, Herodotus, l. vii. c. 37, when he invaded Greece and was alarmed at an eclipse of the Sun, they told him it foreboded well to his enterprise, because the Sun was *guardian* of Greece, and the Moon of the Provinces of Persia. I am going to offer a very extravagent conjecture, and, as I am reasoning in the dark, may be mistaken to a degree of the wildest refinement.

You know Bishop Cumberland has shewn that the Persians and Medes, Egyptians and Greeks, are all colonies traductive from the old Assyrian under the Nimrod of Scripture; and, therefore, though derived originally from the same common stock, must differ greatly after some time in their comparative improvements, both of policy and religion. Those who, on the dissolution of that empire, settled in Egypt, seemed to have carried away the best scion, and flourished soonest in their own soil. The *opinion* that deities presided over particular countries and societies had its origin amongst them; and with it, the *Religion of Names,* as you call it after Herodotus (l. ii. c. 52–3), was devised to the Greeks. But the *Religion of Names* never appears to have been introduced among the Persians, and yet they hold the *opinion* of tutelary

deities. The first is plain from what Herodotus says, that they did not believe the deities of human extraction; the second is plain from what he relates of the answer given by the Magi to Xerxes. How can the difficulty be cleared? Perhaps on this hypothesis; that, though the Persians borrowed not the *Religion of Names*, yet they borrowed the *opinion*, so as to be persuaded that they were the care of some peculiar Gods, as was the case in other countries. The reason why they borrowed not the *Religion of Names* might be, that they had not a sufficient stock of home-bred heroes to whom they could apply those names, or characters and rites; and, being too vain to worship those of other nations, they dropped that part of the scheme; but seizing the *opinion*, applied it to their former worship, by taking one of the celestial gods for their tutelary deity. That they had no such heroes is probable, because none of the hero-gods, I take it, are of Persian original; that they had such an opinion, and applied it in this manner, is certain, because the Moon was a tutelary deity. Thus, as they believed in local gods, and were polytheists, their mode of idolatry coincides with your scheme and all its important consequences, notwithstanding it a little vary from what generally prevailed.

I will here mention a passage in Strabo, which cannot have escaped you, cited by Stanley (part 17, sec. 3), who says the Persians had temples, and so

differs seemingly from Herodotus. Stanley offers a very rational conjecture to reconcile them; that probably the Grecian rites and religious opinions might spread or be tolerated in Persia after the Macedonian Conquest: and of those times Strabo may be supposed to speak.

You seem to think the observations on Herodotus, Clio, c. 86, of the most significance, and your judgment is certainly well founded. The random conjecture which I formed on c. 131, and have now been aiming to establish, was occasioned by a distinction between the Magi and Sabians, which in the fifth inference I endeavoured to confute. If that distinction concerning the comparative purity of the Magi and the Sabians (which last Spencer has shewn to be the common name of idolaters) was ever made by the antients, it might have this foundation. The natural worship was, in the infancy of the world, symbolical of the first cause; the hero-worship, when it came to be explained away, as you have admirably shewn, was said to be symbolic of the natural. Now the Magi might possibly be thought pure, because, in adhering all along to the natural worship, they were one remove nearer to the truth than either the Greeks or the Egyptians. After all, this very distinction might take its rise when the modern forgeries about Zoroaster gained credit among Greek Christian writers; who, being possessed of that notion, saw it wherever they looked into antiquity, agree-

ably to what Cudworth says of Plutarch and his Manichæan doctrine of the two principles.

Should this last be true, and no man can inform me so well as yourself in that point, I am repelling one phantom by raising, perhaps, what is but another to oppose it. In music it is sometimes an elegance to shun the close or cadence; so in a system, it is a wise maxim not to be too fond of completing the circle or roundness. It is for this reason I am very little solicitous about the success of these conjectures, whilst I confine them to my own thoughts, and the view of a friend like yourself, who must consider me as applying the honour of his friendship to the purposes of improvement; the noblest, the most endearing part of those amiable offices which form it. But, in another light, I ought to be solicitous that if they are wrong you should condemn them. And though I am very sensible of my own inability to *add any lustre*, as you express it, to the great names who are on the side of religion, yet it becomes me as an humble follower and friend of it to entertain no opinion that offends *Truth*, the basis on which it stands.

In the extensive pursuits of this nature which engage your thoughts, I cannot but approve your intention of stopping short to review what is past, and make those who travel after you pause a moment in their journey. To speak out of metaphor, the reader's memory of your former reasonings

will be refreshed, and his understanding enabled better to judge of what is to come. If your well applied story of Scarlet and his customer held very universally, a man would not do amiss to shut up his books; and without the least penitence roll in the vortex of dulness with the generality of his contemporaries. However, I consider men like you as the servants of posterity.

I exceedingly applaud the dissertation of Aristarchus on the new hero of the Dunciad, for the incomparable humour of it. Erasmus has proved *Folly* to have all the resources of wisdom and virtue in itself; and I think there are strokes in this little dissertation not unequal to the spirit of that piece. The placing Cibber in the niche which Theobald could not fill is of advantage to the poem, because his character exhibits a *specimen* of all those qualities which are ridiculed on the new plan, beside bad writing and false taste, which were satirized on the old. The notes contain very ingenious explications of the poet's meaning, which is *plena sensibus*. I have always thought Mr. Pope the best scholar of a poet (except Milton) whom we have had in this country (and we have had many excellently learned); yet he is not even in that way without considerable obligations to you. And when it is added, that you have shewn him a religionist, and rescued him out of the hands of the common enemy, the Freethinker, one must own that you have saved a citizen, (at qualem, Dî

boni! would Tully exclaim,) and deserve a better than the antient reward of it.

Were old Dennis to find fault with the present constitution of the poem, he would say (and it would be all he could say), that the vision of Dulness's triumphs, and the actual establishment of her empire should not have been produced together; and in no epic poem is an instance to be found where the same things are shewn both in *vision* and in *action*. If this be an offence against the rules of art, it is certainly productive of many graces beyond the reach of it; and the third and fourth books are so variously and yet so justly modelled, that the one only gives a very imperfect and Pisgah sight, as it is phrased in the argument, of the fulness of glory in the other. Nay, in some instances, particularly in the matter of religion, the goddess carries it so much further than her enlightened prophet, that whereas he exhorts the Dunces, although they detest a Bacon, a Locke, or Newton, *not to scorn their God*, she is, more wisely and suitably to her character, for eradicating the very notion of a deity, and in their enquiry letting the author of the whole escape; intimating, first, the natural progress and gradation of Dulness from a contempt of the best and most religious writers, where it cannot stop, to a contempt of religion itself; and then, that religion, furnishing the sublimest conceptions of the human mind, and the noblest motives and rules of human conduct, is

the most dangerous, and therefore the most dreaded adversary to Dulness.

I hear a new book is just come out against you, but know nothing of its contents. They say, too, the Laureate is writing against the Divine Legation, by which he will shew you that *nonsense* is proof both against the light arms of wit and the heavy artillery of reason. So that he is invulnerable. This hero is an exception to the proverb; he is really *Achilles sine telo.* There is not one part about him open to the impressions of shame or good sense.

I am, with great honour and truth,
Your most obliged and faithful
humble servant,
CHARLES YORKE.

Since I wrote what is above, it has occurred to me that if Urania is to be understood of the *Moon*, one of the natural divinities, the worship which the Persians learnt in *later* times is no more than that to which they were attached of *old;* because Herodotus says ἀρχῆθεν they adored the sun, moon, &c. To this it may be answered, that, when of old they worshipped the sun or moon, it was in the character of deities that presided *generally* over the system. But when the opinion of tutelary Gods possessed them, the object, although the same, assumed a new character and name, being

considered as more *particularly* relative to themselves.

This, you see, is on the principles of the conjecture already stated, on which, I must repeat it, that I do not rely, because there are difficulties attending it, but leave it to the test of your judgment.

THE HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE TO THE REV. W. WARBURTON.

Thursday, January 19, 1743-4.

DEAR SIR,

It may seem to betray an ignorance of myself, after the letter which I had the pleasure of writing, and you the trouble of reading, not long since, that I should presume so far on your kindness as to renew the same trouble to you, and aim to amuse you, who are so much better employed, with the rovings of my imagination. But, as I am more solicitous for the credit of docility than judgment, and of modesty than wit, I think myself concerned to approve these qualities to your candour, and once more to ask a pretty large share of it for those weak and inaccurate observations, which my entire confidence in *that* disposed me to send you. I have another reason which weighs with me; as business is coming on apace, I know not when I shall have an opportunity of conversing with you at large upon paper,

unless I busy the present in a manner to me the most entertaining in the world.

I called the conjectures in my last inaccurate and weak, and perhaps they are not the less so for being favoured by the opinion of a traveller, who, though a man of learning and attention, may be mistaken in a point which demands a more careful inquiry than probably he gave it. Sir T. Herbert, p. 301 of his Travels, has these words, "In old times they [the Persians] were idolaters, such as the Gawers, the Curds in Syria, the Persees in India, the Pegouans, &c.; but, by converse with the Greeks and Romans, abolished their celestial worship, and (as Strabo relates) received demonomic, which continued till Mahomet." So that his sense of the matter is, plainly, that the Greeks introduced hero worship amongst them, and that about the time of Mahomet the religion of the Guëbres arose. The passage alluded to in Strabo, is perhaps no other than that cited by Stanley, 17 sect. c. 3. To turn the thing in another light, which we may be allowed to do very freely, where the mist of antiquity is so thick, it is not impossible but Mylitta and Alitta might, like the Isis of Egypt, be queens and heroines of their respective countries, and their names applied to the moon, when the human worship came to be refined away. But then, was Mithras, to whom these terms are referred, an hero-god? That is no where said, and the solution will have

difficulties. Herodotus expressly says, the Persians did not believe the earthly extraction of the Gods, in contradistinction to the Greeks, who did. This he says as not being at all shocked by the sentiment, and without any sort of delicacy or reserve as to the priests. May one not then imagine, that the Persians never adored heroes, and that the Greeks in Herodotus' time, at least Herodotus himself, treated the Persian doctrine, not as having the advantage of truth, but merely as a singularity? I fear you will think me tedious, yet, take the thing in the way I have proposed it, the principal circumstance which induces me to think tolerably of it is, that all I have said coincides with your principles, and is even built upon them.

The remarks on your minor proposition fell into my hands the other day, and I run them over. To me, I confess, they were unsatisfying, nor unmixt with sophisms. The fundamental proposition of the book is, that the doctrine of a future state is omitted in the Mosaic Law, yet the Jews had all along a general belief and trust in it. Now it seems a capital objection, that, if the traditionary opinion of a future state would have all the effect upon the Jews as the making it a sanction of the law must have had, which the writer not only admits but contends, then surely this reasoning is (the reverse of the Epicurean about

God) *verbis tollere, re ponere*, and is tainted with the very error you have laboured to confute.

It has occurred to me, and I will hazard the thought with you, that an argument may be drawn for the support of your opinion, as to the studied omission in the Old Testament History of anything that concerns a future state, from the obscure and ambiguous manner in which the sacred writer has expressed the threat denounced in the infancy of the world, Gen. c. ii. v. 17, "In the day thou eatest thereof (of the tree of knowledge of good and evil) thou shalt surely *die*." And it is observable that ambiguous terms are used afterwards, when the sentence is to be executed, c. iii. v. 19, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Both these are understood by divines as condemning to a death or extinction which should affect *only* the body. But the expression may be understood in three ways:

I. In the manner just mentioned, in opposition to the perpetual existence which it is fancied was intended for him in Paradise: a notion held by Archbishop King and others, and most generally received. A very little reflection will show it to be attended with a train of difficulties; for, though we need not understand by this opinion of Adam's immortality in Paradise, that he was created of less perishable materials than his sons, yet we must suppose him by especial favour designed

for perpetual existence on earth. The following considerations are to me insuperable arguments against it.

1. There is reason to think that, our capacities and faculties of improvement being very confined in their own nature, in the extent of their possible acquisitions, and still more in their mediums of perception and methods of cultivation, the great end and exercise of immortality, which is intellectual perfection and enjoyment, cannot be attained here.

2. This material and sensual frame, governed by those great laws of mechanism which prevail through the universal system of bodies, is too much encumbered in this life with appetites, necessities, false pursuits, and various imperfections (even were there no vices in the world which increase the inevitable disorders of it), to allow us leisure or inclination for making those acquisitions which are not only fitted to the strength of the human mind, but are not above the human condition.

3. One may gather, by observing the visible world about us, that every part of it has a temporary existence; that the animal and vegetable kinds pass in fleeting and regular successions, because the earth could not bear the expense of supporting us, were it not for the natural return of all things. Admitting man, then, to have been originally created of the same materials as at pre-

sent; that he was set down on the globe, it being very much like that which is the object of our care, itself of a limited existence, (as the best religion and philosophy inform us,) nay, the sun, and the orbs which roll round it, all subject to mortality, I ask, whether it is not too harsh, I will not say absurd, to imagine, that man alone was at first exempted from the common lot? and, while *fractus illabatur orbis,* though composed himself of equally perishable ingredients, that he was marked out by Omnipotence a standing exception or contradiction to the general constitution of things.

4. But if, to avoid the supposition that God had provided an unchanging actor for this passing and shifting scene; an immortal inhabitant for this mortal though august and beautiful mansion; it should be suggested, that before the Fall all things bore some analogy to this blissful state; and consequent upon it (as Milton feigns) the earth groaned; the soil at once required cultivation, nor spontaneously produced sustenance of every kind; its natural fertility either exerted itself wantonly or not at all, unless previously solicited by human industry and art: in a word, that the whole scheme of things underwent a correspondent alteration; yet still, the reasoning under the first objection holds good, and, if it be impossible to attain that intellectual improvement which is the end of immortality, where the inlets to knowledge

are the senses; the objects that present, and the organs that retain it, material; then a separation of soul and body (which is what we call death) was intended even for Adam, and the immortality promised to him was that of the soul, after its disengagement from the clay that surrounds it.

II. The second interpretation which the term will bear is more qualified, and does not suppose Adam designed for perpetual existence on earth, but that the separation might be originally intended for him; yet free from sickness, vexation, and pain, after outliving many centuries: the *death* denounced by the sentence of divine punishment being liable to all that terror and uncertainty which continually attends it. In this view, we may take the fiction of the poets to be scarce unreasonable; and that, if Adam had been obedient, and conveyed the happy effects of that obedience to posterity, he and they, like Tithonus, might have been *in auras minuendi.* But there is one difficulty peculiar to this second hypothesis, and another common to it with the first.

1. If all men who come into the world were to live till old age, not obnoxious to those accidents or laws of matter by which they are influenced since the Fall, we do not know how far that might be attended with inconveniences in the course of nature and society; and it seems to be the wise disposition of Providence, that there should be the

same waste of life (if I may use the words) in the human as in the rest of the animal creation.

2. In the next place, neither in this nor in the first scheme of interpretation is any opposition, connection, or analogy observed to the immortality restored by Christ. However, as Scripture points out a clear and important connection between the Fall and Christianity, what way have divines invented to connect them? Why, say they, by *death* is meant not only in the *literal* sense, according to the first interpretation, a cancelling the paradisiacal immortality, or, according to the second, the giving a sharp sting to death, but, in the *figurative*, a state of necessary sinning; and that, from the moment of Adam's transgression, every thing his posterity was capable of doing deserved indignation. Hence an inference is drawn, that all men, being in a state of guilt, deserved, and, had it not been for Christ, would have received endless torments in hell. These opinions being the progeny of superstition, monstrous to common sense and justice, reproachful to religion and the gracious Author of it, there have not been wanting many to combat them, and every wise and good man will be proud to be ranked in that number.* But perhaps they cannot be exposed

* It seems doubtful whether the writer's intention in this most objectionable passage is to impeach the Church's doctrine of original sin, or the excesses to which that doctrine has been pushed by

more shortly and conclusively, than by marking the true connection between the history of the Fall and the benefit of Christ's Passion. The ambiguous term *death* [thou shalt surely die], if one may rationally hold that Adam's body was mortal before the Fall, must then probably be interpreted to refer only to the soul; and consequently the immortality forfeited in him was the same with that which is restored in Christ. Now if Moses designed to be obscure in this very relation and transaction (which you have with excellent acuteness, and I think judgment, the first of any man observed), is it absurd to think the particular ambiguity I am speaking of, which has given rise to so many jarring interpretations and mischievous opinions among Christian Expositors, was owing to the studied omission you insist upon? or, rather, can another cause be adequately assigned for it?

I remember, very late at night, after eleven o'clock, and discourse on many things, you once pleased me much by intimating to me an opinion which I think preferable to Locke's, because it clears the subject from metaphysical embarrassments, and affords a simpler solution to the whole

a particular school of theology. If the former, it is a melancholy proof of the lengths to which the abuse of private judgment may lead a modest and candid mind. If the latter, it shows the dangerous reaction consequent upon straining sound doctrine too far in a particular direction.—EDITOR.

difficulty; that God made man *capable* of immortality, not actually immortal. But that which I cannot reconcile to my own weak reason is, that, in the original plan, either immortality for man's corporal frame in a Paradise on earth, or in a more qualified sense, the passage of Tithonus into a better state, could be designed for him by the provident Artist of Nature. I am aware that Revelation speaks of *glorified bodies* in the Resurrection. No man will presume to say what the expression imports clearly; yet, if it probably import that the soul at its separation from grosser matter secretes a fine and obsequious vehicle, in which it will emerge hereafter into upper regions, methinks it does not stand in the way of those sentiments I have ventured to propose to you.

After all, perhaps, the conjecture very freely started in this letter, and only for your eye and judgment, cannot be supported on the literal plan of interpreting the first part of Genesis; since the tree of life is suggested to be a means of repairing bodily decay; and Adam is hastened out of Paradise, lest he should put forth his hand to eat the fruit of it and live for ever. If so, either my notion (which I can very readily part with) must be given up, or allegory be resorted to. Those who do not measure antiquity by modern rules and artificial systems (a folly you have incomparably exposed), may think it not improbable that Moses, in an apologue, the familiar language of his age

and country, might insinuate a truth of great moment to mankind, and attended with important consequences in the divine dispensations. He might the rather choose this mode of conveying the information, because, though it was a familiar manner in his times, yet, from its very nature, it exquisitely favoured the scheme of ambiguity and studied omission which you impute to him.

You will excuse my laying before you these remarks; I do not know that the subject has ever been discussed, or the difficulties even suggested, in print; possibly for obvious reasons: but my thoughts taking this turn, I could not help communicating them to you, who are a friend to the freedom of thought.

The din of politics is so strong everywhere, that I fancy it must have penetrated into your retirement. It tempts me sometimes, in an indolent fit, to apply Lord Bacon's words to myself, that "I discern in me more of that disposition which qualifies to hold a book than to play a part." Yet, if you come to London this spring, you will find me engaged in what properly concerns me; but your company, whether enjoyed by letter or personally, will always draw me back to my old studies, "frustra leges et inania jura tuentem." You will forgive every weakness in him who is, with all possible regard, your obliged and faithful humble servant,

CHARLES YORKE.

THOMAS BLACKWELL, LL.D. TO REV. W. WARBURTON.

[THOMAS BLACKWELL was born at Aberdeen in 1701; and studied at Marischal College; where he became M.A. 1718; Professor of Greek 1723; Principal of his College 1748; LL.D. 1752, and died in 1757.

His works are, "An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer," published in 1735. "Letters concerning Mythology," 1748. "Memoirs of the Court of Augustus," vol. I. 1752. Vol. II. 1755. Vol. III. Posthumous and Unfinished, 1764.

He was a man of ability and learning, but deficient in that simplicity of thought and expression, which is the criterion of true taste.—*Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.*]

Aberdeen, June 25, 1736.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I blame myself much more than I hope your goodness will allow you to do, for not answering sooner one of the most worthy and obliging letters that ever was wrote. But as this is the time of our long vacation in the University, I was unluckily from home when it came to hand, and my servant neglected it some days after my return.

Permit me, Sir, to tell you, that it contains those sentiments of men and things of which I am the the fondest; and for which you will easily believe I can find but little vent amidst a low, nonsensical generation, though the exercise of them would make the chief pleasure of my life. A hundred

times have I lived over those agreeable hours I had the happiness of passing with your most worthy friend Dr. Middleton at Cambridge. That gentleman seems to me to have arrived at the true taste of life; to know the value of superior integrity and knowledge, and to have set the proper price upon all those appurtenances of living which the Romans called elegantly *impedimenta*. I quite hope it is needless to tell you how highly I rate his and your partiality to myself; or to assure you of my accepting with joy and gratitude the most welcome proffer of your valuable friendship; be assured that I will greedily embrace every opportunity to cultivate it, and do most firmly resolve to be your guest, the first visit I make to England.

"Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico."

Before I left Cambridge, I was endeavouring to persuade Dr. Middleton to a northern progress in company with our common friend Mr. Gale, and promising to meet them half way, conduct them through Scotland, and do my best to make their journey agreeable. If you could think of such a relaxation from your severer studies for two months of the summer, it would just make a proper company for travelling. And the day and year you set out, I would mark *meliore lapillo*.

The pleasure which the reading your masterly performance gave me, and the opinions of its author, I choose rather to tell to others than to your-

self. Give me leave only to say, that from the plan of the principal work I expect an original standard book, to make a noble amends for the exuberant trash that is daily scribbled, for low crooked ends, upon the most difficult of subjects; and, if you would further indulge me in the freedom of a friend, I would communicate a wandering thought which I have sometimes entertained upon this head.

The common patrons one meets with of infidelity, either in writing or conversation, are pretty despicable; for the most part young *écervelés* without learning or candour; but the few ingenious men I have found inclined that way, seem to stick here: they want, and profess to *wish*, to be convinced of the necessity of the connexion between what they call the real and the miraculous part of the Jewish and Christian History. You will easily comprehend the boundaries of this distinction, and see that it is the difficult link of the chain: the making it clearly out from the natural connexion of things will be one of the greatest services done to our present happy establishment since its first erection. I had little hopes of ever seeing this done, till you made me the valuable present of your ALLIANCE, for sure never were there writings so wide of the mark as the bewildered advocates for the best of causes have lately produced. But you have fairly gained the *point de vue* (which is the important step), and have all the country under you at command; with the subservient but neces-

sary qualifications (history, various learning, languages) for managing the complicated subject.

A good many years ago, when I was reading some Lectures of Greek and Roman History, I chose Velleius Paterculus as a kind of text, and wrote a Supplement to the First Book of that artful author, which my friends were pleased to talk of as something, as it begun at the earliest times, and aimed at his spirit and manner. But, as I never meant to attempt a new edition of him, you will give me leave to return your generous offer, and assure you of a hearty welcome to my papers if you have the least thought of restoring him to his former lustre.

Mr. Theobald's Edition of Shakespeare I read with advantage, and am much pleased to find that I was indebted to you before I knew whom to thank for my entertainment. But I shall not think myself even with you until I have an opportunity of balancing the advantage you have gained in the beginning of our friendship, by the frank and handsome manner in which you have bestowed that blessing upon me. Be so good as to let me hear soon of your welfare, and believe that I am, with true esteem and affection,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

T. Blackwell.

THOMAS BLACKWELL, LL.D. TO THE REV. W. WARBURTON.

Aberdeen, Oct. 26, 1737.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I have the very great pleasure of your letter of September 7, upon which I can with great truth make you a pretty uncommon compliment, that it was the more welcome as it informed me of the loss of another of the same kind: but you are too well acquainted with the feelings of friendship not to know that any proof of your remembrance, though unhappily, it seems, miscarried, must be highly agreeable to one who was regretting your long silence.

I commonly spend our summer vacation, which is pretty long, in wandering from one country retirement to another, and suspect that some gentleman's servant's mistake or negligence has robbed me of half my entertainment. I was, indeed, frequently resolving to renew my claim by another letter; but, till within these two months, have for a great while been in no condition to write: a languishing illness contracted early in the spring from a low damp room in the college where I met a morning's [class], has, by frequent relapses, fully convinced me, that I am frail like other mortals; for, before that, I imagined the hardiness of my constitution far above the ordinary precautions.

You could not regale me with two more agreeable subjects than our worthy friend Dr. Middleton's work and your own. I feel a real impatience to see them, as I am deeply interested in their authors, and promise myself the highest instruction and entertainment from their perusal: and in the mean time, like one bred up with you under the same masters (a thought I am proud of), and sure of your bearing with my writing, *quicquid in buccam*, will freely tell you my *fancies* (such strictly they are) about the one and the other.

And first, I would have our excellent and amiable friend to allow his *hero* to be a *man*, and a very nice and delicate man too;—a character attended with several oddities, when engaged in high struggles in a free state. Cicero himself, who, as Livy says handsomely of old Cato, was *minimè suarum laudum detrectator*, confesses somewhere to his elegant friend, *Est in me quiddam subinane:* it is certain that his fair intentions and high capacity in civil managements are unquestionable; and that he was possessed of all the under qualities that adorn life, wit and learning and politeness; but his unwarlike temper, and want of that great half of a Roman, the *soldier*, diminished his weight in public, and at every new convulsion of the state made him very obnoxious to the leaders, and afraid of the littlest tribune of a legion. Nor could I ever read his divine Philippics without indignation, to see that such old worthless dogs as Piso and

Calenus were sitting sneering at his exalted strains of virtue and eloquence, and even at the authority of the dwindled senate, because they knew it was by dint of sword, and not by decrees and brass tablets, that the matter was to be decided. Could he have gone, like Pompey, to his native Arpinum, and raised a battalion of sturdy veterans to have made head against the lawless crew, it would have saved him the ridicule of haranguing the people and senate upon every piece of fresh news; a ridicule which only vanishes when he touches upon Brutus's and Cassius's arms, who had indeed the glorious prospect of re-establishing liberty, and with it the profession at least of every virtue: but

Οὐ σοὶ, τέκνον ἐμὸν, δέδοται πολεμήια ἔργα,
Ἀλλὰ σύγ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα λόγοιο.

Something of this kind I have ventured to write to Dr. Middleton, and promise myself entire satisfaction from his sentiments on so important a subject.

[The succeeding paragraph has been already given at p. 60, in illustration of a letter of Bishop Warburton.]

A late writer, indeed, (Mr. Hutchinson, the Hebrew scholar,) affirms they understood them * well, which he says is the reason why Moses did not explain them. "These emblems and figures, though dark and obscure to us, yet were not so to

* The Mosaic Institutions of sacrifices, atonements, scapegoats, &c.

them; who by those emblems and figures understood events as clearly at the distance of many centuries, and therefore as distinctly believed in them, as we at the distance of many years after the event, upon a relation in a language we understand; which does no more than put us on a level with them in point of evidence or cause of belief. I know not whether you will consider this extraordinary person's writings, "Moses' Principia," and "Moses, sine Principio," as coming within the verge of your plan. A great man of our country, I mean in a high station, and deserving it by his superior merit, was fond of the schemes they contained, and took the pains himself to draw up and publish an abstract of them in a letter to a Bishop.* To tell you my thoughts about them freely, I believe they are extremely well meant, and discover a great compass of learning; but he constantly put me in mind of Father Hardouin, and the turn his head had taken upon the falsification of the Fathers. His hypotheses are the most learned dreams I have met with; and when I reflect upon them coolly, and think how firmly he believes them, it makes me diffident of the opinions I have formed of distant things, either in life or learning: I call my ima-

* Duncan Forbes, Laird of Culloden, born 1685; commenced Advocate at the Scottish bar 1708; Lord Advocate 1725; Lord President of the Court of Session 1737; died 1747. His "Reflexions on Incredulity," and "Thoughts on Religion," evince piety and talent.

ginations to a review, and make them undergo a scrutiny, to see whether this *visionnaire* slippery spirit has not imposed upon me, and played off an illusion instead of a reality; and, indeed, we cannot be over cautious on that quarter, when we have thought long on any subject, or are fond of a discovery.

You see, Sir, how I indulge myself in writing to you, with the same freedom and incorrectness I would talk, and taking every sentiment and expression as it comes uppermost. You will do me but justice if you attribute it to the firm persuasion I have of the worth of your heart, and the open benevolence of your temper. What else could give me the confidence to write thus upon a subject of which you are perfectly master, and of which I know little more than the few outlines traced by yourself? But, indeed, I do as I would be done by in such a case; and should think but meanly of that friend with whom I should be obliged to do otherwise.

What you heard from my friends in England is so far true, that I have had for many years lying by me, *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, of which the gentlemen of the new society having accidentally seen a plan, did me the honour to let me know their willingness to print them. But as it contains a great number of plates and authorities from several languages, it cannot be properly executed without my spending a year at London; which partly my situation in the University, and

principally my backwardness to engage in so great a work, renders very uncertain when it will happen, or whether it will happen at all.

We have no manner of news in this country but what are furnished by the church. About one half of our clergy have rendered themselves obnoxious to the government to be turned out of their livings, and for ever incapacitated from holding any ecclesiastical office or benefice, by refusing to read from the pulpit an act of parliament for punishing sedition and murder. They pretend that no secular power can deprive them of their office, or lawfully hinder them from exercising it; that they had it from our Saviour and his Apostles, and are not to give it up to a king and parliament; that they are *Christ's* heralds, and not his majesty's nor the legislature's, and that the reading an act from the pulpit, in which the power of suspending them from a part of their office (viz. holding church-courts) is usurped, would be an acquiescing in such power, which they will not do.

Let me hope to hear soon of your welfare, and always think of me as with much esteem,

Reverend and dear Sir,
Your most affectionate friend
and obedient humble servant,
T. Blackwell.

THE REV. JOSEPH JANE * TO THE REV. W. WARBURTON.

SIR,

A man of vast genius, and (for the age) prodigious learning, may well despise what comes from a hand so mean as his whose name is at the bottom of this address. Sincere love of truth, you will perceive, is his only motive. The occasion is your late *Dedication*.† The sorry writer of these lines was no less surprised than grieved at reading, among other passages and expressions (not to say the whole offspring of a heart avowedly "sensible to *human* glory"), the following part of one paragraph; which, in the love of truth, of God, and of your soul, and of the multitude whom you can influence, he begs leave to declare his abhorrence of, very briefly, by remarks, apposite and just, he fears, as he goes along.

Methinks (when you know the man you will excuse his absurdity, which is apt to show itself in the broadest light,) I must preface the designed representation and remonstrance with one word more. You contemn a superficial scholar, and

* For the clue to this most curious and interesting correspondence, see Warburton and Hurd's Correspondence, Lett. CXXIV.

† Of the IV. V. and VI. Books of the Divine Legation, to Lord Mansfield. The passage referred to is in vol. II. p. 268, 4to. edit. of Warburton's Works.

hate an impudent pretender to letters, reason, history, or science. You will not be displeased, therefore, I may hope, if I, who am no scholar, and pretend to nothing but some proficiency in the school of Christ, if even I (suppose the lowest disciple in the lowest form), in the name of our Master, take an eminent divine to task for treating a subject of the greatest depth and utmost importance in a superficial manner. I hope, too, while I deal thus freely with you in private, I lie open to no bar upon earth except that of criticism; which, though I honour as it deserves, I look upon as a shadowy branch of *human glory.*

To the point. Am I strangely mistaken, or had you that poverty of spirit to which the first beatitude is pronounced; had you at heart, Sir, that admonition of our Lord, "How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh from God only;"—did you not, in sad truth, "love" and study "the praise of men more than the praise of God," when you gave way to all that train of thinking of which this is the close? "Those whom their profession has dedicated to" (the cause of Christ, the Gospel of salvation, the truth in the love of it, would I say) "this service" (say you, "the reasoning the people into their religion again"), experience has taught that the talents requisite (for the work of the ministry I would have expected), for *pushing their fortune* (whom are you speaking

of, Sir, the ministers of Christ or the servants of sin?) lie very remote from what enables men to *figure* (in heaven, I am sure; yea, or, truly, you say well) in a successful defence of Revelation."

Dear Sir! (I speak to a brother disciple and professor), where is the conversation of a Christian? Where can it be but "in heaven?" Sure I am that as *believers*, our character, business, and delight is to seek, and speak, and recommend the truth in love: and at once to aim at God's glory and our own. "And (you go on to say of men of a very different stamp) it is very natural to think, that, in general, they will be chiefly bent to cultivate those qualities on which they see *their* patrons lay the greatest stress."

Other inaccuracies I could note,—many: take an instance in point. You speak of *people:* and, if I mistake not, confound as words equivalent, "people," "the people," "the common people," "the populace." The last word mentioned before this paragraph was "people." "The intrigues (you say) of church-promotion made *people* despise the whole ordinance." Pray, Sir, *what* people? Christian people? And then, *what* ordinance? or what order? You have discernment, Sir, abundantly more than enough to understand that impropriety of expression and confusion of thought, in things sacred, which I suggest to your observation.

Look upon the Cross; look on Him whom your

and all our sins have pierced: or image to yourself Stephen looking up to Jesus at the right hand of God; or look forward to the tribunal of Christ; and try, if you can hesitate one moment, whether in that day you would have to plead for your acceptance and reward (in subordination to the merits of our Saviour) his simple speech, or all the popular, admired (as they are singularly ingenious, learned, and inimitable) productions. Alas! Sir, His metal has no alloy; and the coin is of divine authority. What will, yea, how dreadfully will talents superlatively great avail you in that day, when the inquiry to be made, and the issue of it, will (I conceive) turn much upon this point:— "Have we made full proof of our ministry? Have we preached ourselves, or Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves the servants of all (whom we are concerned to solicit for their own salvation, as also) for the sake of Jesus?" May I then have it to plead, that, according to that means of spiritual grace, and that one half-talent of natural endowments which God gave me, my chief care was to *please* my neighbour (only) to edification!

If through the same divine grace you are (I dare confidently speak it) so wise and happy as to think with me, far from making a King's Bench matter of this free-spoken, honest, friendly letter (of which no one knows a syllable), you will heartily thank him who gives you this advice; and therein, with

evident sincerity, professes himself with due respect and consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOSEPH JANE,
Student of Ch. Ch. Oxford.

FROM THE REV. W. WARBURTON TO THE REV. JOSEPH JANE.*

REV. SIR,

I received the favour of yours without date, and am much edified with that appearance of piety which animates all the parts of it, and am equally indebted for your Christian charity towards me; which (as an excellent person on the like occasion well observes) "habet nimirum hoc, ut etiam cùm sævit maximè tamen genuinæ suæ dulcedinis gustum obtineat." This you have fully verified in the polite terms in which you have conveyed it; still the more generous in you, as you happen to have conceived of me, as of *one who aims only at the praise of men, and not the glory of God*, and who is even capable of prosecuting the author of so much friendly advice as a common libeller.

With regard to the first part of the charge, I

* See Warburton and Hurd's Correspondence, Letter CXXIV. note by Bishop Hurd. The present letter is that referred to by Bishop Hurd as not appearing amongst his papers.

think I may be allowed the answer which Mr. John Wesley once gave to those who accused him of pecuniary views; "that at the last day it would be seen with what justice he had been suspected." I have something a stronger right to this appeal, since the judicature of that day is the only one that can scrutinize the heart, which you seem a little too rashly to have judged of.

As to the other part, which intimates me of so vindictive a temper, you might very well have acquitted me yourself, had you known or attended to this, that of a hundred real libellers, I never yet called one to account in a court of justice.

You seem to believe that I shall certainly despise and treat with much contempt the author of this charitable freedom. But do you know, or have you heard, of any instance where I have so done by any who ever used me with common civility? It is true many infamous libels I have so treated, as was my chance to mention them occasionally. But I have always striven to invite those to persevere in their good manners who seemed disposed to use me with decency.

I did not question but I had written many things which would be little relished by men of your severity of sentiment; nor did I ever expect that my occasional endeavours to settle Christianity on its true foundation, *salvation by faith alone*, would atone amongst such for many other parts of my writings. Yet I could not suspect that the passage of which you are pleased to *declare your*

abhorrence, would have incurred censure even from the most rigid.

Let us take the matter from its original. In this great overflow of impiety, debauchery, and ignorance, well-intentioned men of our order have, according as their genius, their ability, or their inclinations led them, pursued different methods to stem the torrent. Some have principally applied themselves to redress the ignorance and errors of those who yet profess the name of Christ, whether amongst the great or small vulgar, as reasonably supposing that a true idea of our holy faith would bring on those who aspired to its benefits, that *Regeneration* of which the Scriptures so much speak—a regeneration productive of good works.* Others opposed themselves to the leaders of infidelity, and endeavoured to avert that mischief which their writings threatened, and had in part produced amongst the people. Yet still, I hope, both these, though in so different stations, were great labourers in the Lord's Vineyard. The first were called to the nobler office of cultivating the soil, pruning the luxuriant branches, and lending a tender and charitable hand to raise, to rear, and to point the way to the young and hopeful tendrils from whose growth and prosperity the full vintage was to arise. The other cheerfully submitted to the inferior drudgery of rooting out the

* It may be worthy of remark, that the Bishop here uses the word *regeneration* not in its strict theological sense, but in that loose popular acceptation which it bore in his time.—Ed.

noxious weeds, and destroying the numerous sorts of vermin. While happier labourers were triumphing over the works of darkness with the powerful weapon of the Spirit, my lot threw me into this humbler class; and I have used my poor endeavours to clear the sacred enclosure of profane men and their profane opinions. In the course of my endeavours, it was natural for me to enquire into this strange apostacy from the holy religion of our forefathers. I supposed that the folly of parties, jumbled with intrigues of state, had greatly concurred to the spread of this mischief, with which those follies and intrigues brought on another, namely an equal decay of learning and piety amongst the men of our order. And it being evident that these qualities of the clergy are amongst the necessary means of repairing our miserable condition, I endeavoured to shew, that without the encouragement of the Great, (so little refined are the motives of the generality even in our sacred profession,) it was not likely, unless by a greater share of grace than these men while in such a condition could either expect or deserve, that those means would ever be supplied. On which occasion I used the following words, so offensive to your sentiments: "*Those whom their profession has dedicated to this service, experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune lie very remote from what enables men to figure in a*

successful defence of Revelation." Which implies thus much, and no more, that the general body of the Clergy have been, and, I am afraid, always will be, very intent upon pushing their temporal fortunes: a fact so apparent to Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, that they have found it necessary to provide rewards and honours for such advances in learning and piety as may best enable the Clergy to serve and advance the interests of the Church of Christ. And, as this was the case, I endeavoured in these obnoxious words, to shew, that if those rewards and honours be so misemployed, that, instead of giving them to learning and merit, they were diverted upon such who can only promote the interests and flatter the passions of the Great, young men, in their entrance into life, seeing how matters were carried, would be tempted rather to cultivate the sordid arts of intrigue and adulation, (which I insinuate *to lie very remote* from their duty,) rather than the liberal endowments of learning and piety, which I call the qualities *that enable men to figure in a successful defence of Revelation:* a service which, at this time, I think very needful to co-operate with that more forceable conviction which arises from the influence of the Holy Spirit, working in the minds of regenerated men.

This being the obvious sense of this passage, I confess I was not a little surprised to hear myself

accused of *loving and studying the praise of men more than the glory of God*, because I supposed that, amongst the numbers of those who dedicated themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel by Ordination, according to the rites of the Church of England, many of them would have, along with their views of serving the cause of religion, a view of serving themselves, and even in *that* cause would endeavour to *figure* in this world as well as in *Heaven*. The severity of your censure, I would suppose may arise from a mistaken zeal. I was speaking of men as I found them; you was thinking of them as they should be found: I was describing the generality; you was looking up to those few particulars whom you most admire. But let that general picture be as odious as you please, the drawer of it is not to be blamed, unless he has aggravated the features of it. And yet you will hardly say that, while your friends use so much freedom in their tragical complaints of a carnal and corrupt Clergy.

On the whole, I wish, as heartily as you can do, that the *Lord's people*, meaning the Ministers of Christ, *were all Prophets*, that is, less intent on their own business, and more on their Master's. But we must take men as we find them; though Christian charity requires that we should endeavour not to leave them so. Now, as such men there have been, as such there are, and such there

will always be, what I aimed at was, to persuade our governors, whose principal concern it is (in imitation of Him whose substitutes they are), to turn the perversity of men into that channel from whence glory to God might be deduced; which I conceived might be done by annexing the honours of the profession to the most eminent services performed to religion by its professors.

But you have taken it for granted that I despise others, and especially men of your turn and character. Believe me, Sir, I am better employed, "Neminem contemno nisi meipsum." Here I go on good grounds. I know myself best. However, of all men, a sober Methodist I am least inclined to despise. If I cannot arrive at their heights, I do not malign their situation; nor would I willingly decry their spiritual endowments. I esteem Mr. John Wesley for his parts; I esteem Mr. George Whitfield for his honesty; but let me not have a captious hearer, who shall uncharitably conclude from hence that I think the one a knave and the other a blockhead. And yet more iniquitous conclusions have been drawn from my words on almost every occasion. But, though I thus think of some of these men, it does not hinder me from speaking my sentiments of the mischiefs arising from the fumes of enthusiasm; in which I am supported by the confessions of Mr. George Whitfield himself, who, were it but for this, would de-

serve the acknowledgment here paid to his honesty.

Having said thus much of one sort of men, I should choose to be silent on the chapter of some others, if so be their follies had been harmless or but little hurtful to *Scripture* and *Revelation*, I mean the Hutchinsonians and Behmenists. But since these men have dishonoured as well Revelation itself as the sacred mode of conveying it, by the maddest visions and the most puerile conceits, I will beg leave to borrow your language, and frankly declare my "utter abhorrence" of these egregious follies.

Thus, Sir, whether the purpose of your Letter was zeal to bear testimony to the truth; charity to advise me of my errors; or mere curiosity to know the bottom of my thoughts, I have endeavoured to satisfy you by applying myself to all these intentions; and have now only to add that

I am, &c.

THE REV. JOSEPH JANE TO THE REV. DR. WARBURTON, DEAN OF BRISTOL.

Christ Church, Jan. 16, 1759.

REV. SIR,

I know not how to acknowledge the honour you did me, and gained to yourself, in answering my rude address and warm expostulation so meekly

and obligingly. I am eager to make due acknowledgment, but a very afflictive illness, which I have long laboured under, disables me much from expressing my sentiments as I would. As unable am I to explain my notion of any matter. The morning after I received your astonishing favour, I set pen to paper, and scratched down a great number of lines in the fullness of my heart in my hasty way, in a kind of short hand of my own; a fortnight after (so simply I tell my tale) I added, by way of postscript, as much more; intending, when I could, to transcribe so much of what I had written as I might hope you would read, without offence or disgust. That time never will come. My scribble remains unexamined. I have neither eyes nor head to attempt it now. Less have I a heart to go about it.

For the motive of my writing to you, I can say nothing plainer than what I said, or truer than what I professed. For the man, it is not in my power to make you think so contemptibly of me as I do. For my character, as it relates to your suspicion, I am attached to no party of any kind, nor ever was. I have affection enough to the Church of England to be a sincere member of it; and whatever surmise a single feature, viewed in this or that light, may excite, I know myself too well to suppose it possible for any man of sense to take me for a bigot or enthusiast. Not to trouble you with more outlines of a very disagreeable figure, I

hasten to conclude a sorry account of one, who humbly begs leave to assure you of the very high and affectionate regard of,

Reverend Sir,
Your much obliged
and most obedient servant,
J. JANE.

I hope I commit no trespass in the liberty I take, having no franks.

THE REV. ARCHDEACON TOWNE TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BALGUY.*

[JOHN TOWNE was of Clare Hall, Cambridge; B. A. 1732; M.A. 1736; Vicar of Thorpe Ernald, Leicestershire 1740; Archdeacon of Stowe; Prebendary of Lincoln; and Rector of Little Ponton, Lincolnshire, where he died March 15, 1791, and was buried.

He was an eminent scholar, an affectionate parent, a sincere friend, and an exemplary parish priest.

Bishop Hurd, in his Life of Bishop Warburton, says, that "he was of the Bishop's early acquaintance when he lived in Lincolnshire, and much respected by him to his death. He was an ingenious and learned man, and so conversant in the Bishop's Writings, that he used to say of him, he understood them better than himself. He published some defences of the Divine Legation, in which, with a glow of zeal for his friend, he showed much logical precision and acuteness." To his intimate acquaintance with, and his impartial judgment of, his friend's great work, the following Letters bear testimony.—(*Nichols's Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 283, 284.—*Hurd's Life of Warburton*, *p.* 134, 4*to. Edit.*—*Warburton and Hurd's Correspondence*, *pp.* 36, 40, 4*to. Edit.*; *and* EDIT.]

* Thomas Balguy, D.D. Archdeacon of Winchester. An intimate friend of Bishop Warburton, and co-executor with Bishop Hurd to his will. He died in 1795, aged 79. His epitaph in Winchester Cathedral gives him the character of "a sincere and exemplary Christian, a sound and accurate scholar, a strenuous and able defender of the Christian Religion and of the Church of England." His chief work, besides Sermons and Charges, is his "Divine Benevolence asserted, &c."—*Chalmers, and* EDIT.

Ponton, 9 March [1780.]

DEAR SIR,

. . . . the Bishop of Lichfield * mentioned the Fragment † to me, but I said nothing again to him on that point, having, indeed, nothing satisfactory, even to myself, to say. It certainly contains many excellent and most admirable observations, and throws great light on the Christian dispensation. But he had promised to give in the conclusion of his Ninth Book a summary account of the Economy of Providence from the Creation to the time of Christ, to shew that better ends were answered by deferring the revelation of a future state, than could have been gained by publishing it sooner. And then he was to confute the objections which had been made to his own system. His omitting to do this will be matter of much triumph to his adversaries. They will say that he found himself unable to do it. However, it is certain that a system may be true and well founded, notwithstanding objections to it never have been nor can be fully answered. But they will be a dead weight upon it while it continues to be unpopular, and the author to be generally disliked.

The time proper for the publication of the Fragment (for surely it should be some time or other published) seems therefore to be a matter of much

* Bishop Hurd.

† The Ninth Book of the DIVINE LEGATION, which was never finished, and, though *printed* by Bishop Warburton in his life time, never *published*, until inserted by Bishop Hurd in his edit. of the Bishop's Works in 1788.—ED.

importance. The Bishop and you will best know when the public may be disposed to pay a proper attention to it.

I have often wished that what he said on the subject of Christianity had been reserved for the Ninth Book. It appears there to most advantage, being so strictly connected with the preceding parts, and necessary to complete the argument. There can surely be no impropriety, therefore, in publishing it with the other parts of the Fragment. The Bishop used to tell me, that it would be as perfectly new to the generality of readers as any other part of the last book; for that hardly any one had looked into his Sermons.

When I used to read the Fragment with more attention than I am able to do now, I thought the author did not always write with his usual clearness and perspicuity. Some of his arguments seemed not to be so intelligible as one could wish. I thought that he sometimes ventured on assertions, and made use of expressions, which an adversary might easily turn against him, to the ruin and subversion of his whole system. No passages of this sort occur to me at present. If any should occur hereafter, I will take the liberty to trouble you with my observations on them, if you will be so kind as to let me know how I am to direct to you in Hampshire.

In the mean time, you will recollect that I once told you the Bishop did not believe St. Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the

54th and 56th pages of the Fragment he supposes that he was not; in p. 106 he supposes that he was.

Does not his interpretation of our Saviour's sentence at the last day imply that the wicked and uncharitable *Gentiles* are to be consigned to the *everlasting* punishments prepared for the Devil and his Angels? Is not this something of a-piece with the opinion of the *unmerciful* Doctors whom he so freely treats, c. 1? This is a sudden thought, which I have not considered, but should be glad to have your opinion of it.

I am, dear Sir,
Your very affectionate humble servant,
J. TOWNE.

THE REV. ARCHDEACON TOWNE TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BALGUY.

Ponton, August 12, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

. . . . . I do not know whether I have any thing to say with regard to the Fragment, which may deserve the Bishop of Lichfield's attention or yours. However I will fairly and fully lay before you what has occurred to me in the perusal of it.

He (Bishop Warburton) tells us, p. 69, that "the Mosaic sacrifices were *types* (and by both the dispensations of the *Law* and the *Gospel declared*

to be so) of the great vicarious sacrifice of the Cross."

They are declared to be so in the Gospel, but where are they declared to be so in the Law? If they had been declared to be so in the Law, it would follow, to the subversion of his main argument, that the Law must have been substantially the same, and *known by the Jews* to be essentially the same, with the Gospel.

Sykes insisted that they could not be ordained for types, because they were not declared in the Law to be so. The Bishop answered, that, though they were appointed for this purpose, yet they could not be declared to be so, the very nature of typical prophesies implying that they were designed to hide and secrete the things conveyed under them.

Our friend could not mean to say any thing more, than that we may *now* see, from the nature and constitution of the Law (considered as a preparatory dispensation, or the base and foundation on which Christianity was to be built), that its sacrifices were designed for types of the Death of Christ. But to understand him in this sense will require more candour than can be expected from a public so violently prejudiced against him.

P. 77, he speaks of "all Christian Churches, *even the Socinians*, agreeing with us that the sacrifices of the Law were typical of the Death of Christ."

He builds much on this concession, and argues from it as an acknowledged and uncontested principle. But whatever may have been the case of the more early Socinians, yet the modern ones, Sykes and his associates, are so far from allowing the sacrifices of the Law *were*, that they strenuously maintain they *were not*, typical of the Death of Christ.

The Bishop's former animadversions on Sykes will be alleged as a proof that he could not be ignorant of this. As he treats this author's *Scripture Doctrine of Redemption* with so much freedom, p. 4, he will be reproached for charging his adversary with a principle which, in this as well as his other works, he rejects as visionary and groundless.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. TOWNE.

THE REV. ARCHDEACON TOWNE TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BALGUY.

August 19, —80.

Pp. 38, 39, 40, Sherlock is charged with believing, together with Middleton, that the Mosaic account of the Fall was an allegory, and not an historical narration of a real fact.

Thus he was very unlucky in incurring the cen-

sure of Middleton, for maintaining that this account *was*, and the censure of Warburton for maintaining that it *was not*, a true and real history.

He, both in his Discourses on Prophesy, and his Appendix, speaks of Adam and Eve as real persons, and of the *tempter* or *evil spirit* as being figuratively, or *allegorically*, represented under the emblem of the serpent. So that the figure or allegory goes no further than the *language* or *expression*, and does not reach the subject matter of the relation. Warburton, vindicating Sherlock against Collins, says, "it was his interest to shew the deists, that the Mosaic account of the Fall was a true story; and this by proving that it was TOLD *allegorically*." (1st edit. of Div. Leg. vol. II. p. 90; last edit. vol. III. p. 116.) This plainly implies that Sherlock supposed only the *language* or *expression* to be *allegorical*.

It may be said, Sherlock concurs with Middleton, in asserting that life and immortality was the sanction of natural religion, and that, on this supposition, the Mosaic account of the Fall must have been an *allegory*. But this Sherlock did not see; and it would have been very wrong to charge him with *believing* in, and arguing on, a consequence which was not perceived and acknowledged by him.

I should be very sorry to find anything unfair or uncandid urged, or even insinuated, with regard to Sherlock. Warburton's enemies will insult him much with his representing Sherlock's opinion at

different times in such different and opposite lights, as his different views at those times might require.

P. 37, he says, the Mosaic account of the Fall has been *commonly imagined* to be an allegory. But this surely is not true. Waterland, whom he charges with being an allegorist, seems to have been as far from it as Warburton himself.

You find me very minute in my observations; but, I flatter myself, you will ascribe it to no other motive than my regard for the author.

But to proceed. The interpretation of the words *the breath of life,* and *a living soul,* given in the Fragment, p. 13, is very different from that given in the Div. Leg. vol. V. p. 128. The author might change his opinion in this case, as he has done in that other relative to the origin of sacrifice. It is probable that he did; because he lays great stress on this last intrepretation in the 14th and 20th pages of the Ninth Book. However, the arguments adduced in the Div. Leg. in support of the first interpretation, will not be easily got over, particularly that founded on the words of St. Paul, "the first man Adam was made *a living soul;* the last was made a *quickening spirit.*"

The last interpretation seems not to be perfectly consistent with what he has said (Div. Leg. vol. V. p. 9) of the improbability of Moses proclaiming the future existence of the soul.

Pp. 95, 96. He here undertakes to solve the grand

difficulty, or to show that eternal life might be styled *a free gift*, notwithstanding *a price was paid for it*.

He solves it by saying, "*with regard to man*, the character of *a free gift* remains *to immortality restored;* for the price paid for forfeited man was not paid by him, but by a Redeemer of divine extraction," &c. This has been often said; on which Sykes and others observe, that it is styled in Scripture a free gift, *with regard to God*, the donor of it: but how could it be styled so, *with regard to him*, if a price was paid (no matter by whom) by way of satisfaction for the debt?

His lordship sent me some of his papers long before they went to the press, with leave to transcribe them; and here he inserted the following note in that part of the manuscript which answers to p. 52, line 30, "distinct and different things:" "of how much importance it is to attend to this distinction we may see by the following instance, when we mistake *the sacrifice of Christ*, which was the means of recovering the *free gift*. for the *condition* annexed to the gift, we involve ourselves in endless difficulties; for this *sacrifice* is called *redemption*, satisfaction, and *a price paid;* which, when understood as a price paid for the gift, destroys the gratuitous donation of it. But let us regard the *sacrifice* for what it really was, the *means* of our restoration to that free gift forfeited by Adam's transgression, and then *redemption, sa-*

tisfaction, and a *price paid*, relate not to the *free gift*, but to man's delivery from that state of slavery unto sin and death, into which he fell back after Adam's forfeiture of the free gift, and which state was the condition of humanity before the free gift was bestowed; a short and frail life, now made more wretched by the memory of the Law, and by the increasing degeneracy of our nature. The sacrifice of Christ redeemed man from this state, and put him again into a capacity of receiving a second time the free gift of immortality, with a positive *condition* annexed, as at first, but of a different sort, as we shall see hereafter."

In this note he asserts, that the sacrifice of Christ, considered as a price paid for the gift of life and immortality, would *destroy the gratuitous donation of it:* in the printed copy he goes on the idea that it would not. One would wish to know on what grounds he changed his sentiments on this point.

In this note he affirms, that the sacrifice of Christ was the price paid for fallen man's delivery from a state of sin and death, in order to put him again into a capacity of receiving a second time the free gift of life and immortality.

Here again, it will be urged, that this delivery from the state of sin and death is described and represented in Scripture as a free gift, or matter of mere grace and favour in God. So that the dif-

ficulty of reconciling the idea of a free gift to that of a price still remains.

I shall be much obliged to the Bishop of London or you, if you will be so kind as to point out to me the proper way of removing this difficulty.

Since what Grotius and Stillingfleet have advanced on the subject of *vicarious atonement* has given so little satisfaction to some of our most candid and sensible divines, I had entertained great hopes he would have enlarged a little on this point in his Ninth Book.

Upon the whole, I am apprehensive that what he has said in this chapter will make little impression on our modern Socinians. *Some* of them will readily accede to all he has alleged concerning the nature, origin, and progress of sacrifice. They will all deny that there was anything *vicarious* in those of the Law. I think his argument from types is very just and logical, but, urged as an *argumentum ad hominem*, in which light he urges it, can have no force. No new light has been given to enable us to reconcile the idea of a free gift with that of a *purchased inheritance*; or to obviate the difficulties which have been raised with regard to a vicarious atonement.

I make no doubt but that all appeared very clear and decisive to him; but I fear it will not do so to his readers.

THE REV. ARCHDEACON TOWNE TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BALGUY.

Ponton, Sept. 12, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I shall take the liberty to trouble you with a few more observations on the Fragments.

P. 126. He (Bp. W.) speaks of the *new doctors of the church*, who suppose that Christianity was no more or other than a republication of the religion of nature. He says, they thought it most consonant to common sense "that the republication of it should be established *in the same manner* in which it was first published to the world." He here says they were wrong, but in his sermons supposes they were right, in this assertion. "For if Christianity were only such a republication, it is reasonable to suppose it was *republished in the same manner* that it was first published, that is to say, by *innate impressions and abstract principles*." Vol. III. p. 331.

But to proceed. Such a republication of natural religion, *by innate impressions and abstract principles*, might be talked of by Tindal; but is this anywhere the language of those *new doctors of the church*, who hold that the miracles recorded in the Gospel were really wrought, though

not as credentials of a divine mission, but to excite the attention of the people to the doctrines announced to them?

P. 47. I could wish he had not said *the use of Extraordinary Providence was superseded*, till he had mentioned the several circumstances which enabled the Jews to gather and arrange their ideas in favour of a future state; for he may be charged by his less candid readers with asserting, that the gradual revelation of the nature and genius of the Gospel would have been sufficient *of itself* to supersede the use of the Extraordinary Providence.

He seems not to have been always so guarded and cautious as he should have been in his expressions, when he is speaking of the revelations of the Gospel made by the later Prophets. In his former editions of the Div. Leg. he had represented them as having given *very lively descriptions of a Redeemer and a future state.* On my reminding him that this would not be thought consistent with his general hypothesis, he erased in the subsequent editions *some* of these passages, but left others standing, which afforded matter of much triumph to one of the writers against him. I could wish there might be nothing in the Fragment to furnish occasion for future triumphs of this sort.

He does not seem to have been so attentive to this point of consistency as one might have ex-

pected, even in the last edition of the Div. Leg. His interpretation of Heb. viii. 4, 5, p. 137, is very different from that in the note p. 245, vol. V.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. TOWNE.

PART III.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. (AFTERWARDS LORD) LYTTELTON TO THE REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

[GEORGE LYTTELTON was the son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, of Hagley, in the county of Worcester. He was born in 1709, and educated first at Eton, and afterwards at Christ Church. In 1728 he travelled in France and Italy; and in 1735 was M. P. for Oakhampton, in which capacity he opposed the Court and Sir R. Walpole. In 1737 he became Secretary to the Prince of Wales, and in 1744 was appointed a Lord of the Treasury. He was made Cofferer and Privy Councillor in 1754; Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1755; was elevated to the Peerage in 1757; and died in 1773, aged 64.

He was an early and somewhat voluminous writer. His principal work is his "Life of Henry II." matured by the researches and deliberations of twenty years, and published at intervals between 1755 and 1772. Besides this, he wrote, amongst other things, "Persian Letters," a satire on the moral and political state of England, 1735. "Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul," 1747; "to which," Dr. Johnson says, "Infidelity has never been able to fabricate a plausible answer." "Dialogues of the Dead," 1760.

Though not possessed of the requisite qualifications for the arduous office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, he possessed considerable abilities, not only as a statesman and as an historian, but also as a writer of taste and imagination. In early life he had doubted of Christianity, but candid inquiry, under higher influ-

ences, had convinced him of its truth. The best testimony to his moral and religious worth is the title by which he is best known, "the GOOD Lord Lyttelton."—*Nichols's Literary Anecdotes; and* EDIT.]

London, June 10, 1740.

SIR,

I am extremely obliged to you for the favour of your Letter, as I shall always be happy in any mark you give me of your affection, which I shall endeavour to deserve by all means in my power.

The book you was so kind to send me I have read with great pleasure, as I do every thing you write, not only from the learning and wit that always appear in it, but from the honest use you make of those qualities. But as you write to flatter no party, or sect, you must expect to displease all violent men, for the same reason as the candid approve of you. And believe me, sir, whoever writes upon such subjects, if he writes to please universally, cannot write well. Yet truth will at last get the better of prejudice, and posterity will do you justice, if the present age should refuse it you.

I came to day from your friend Mr. Pope. He is very well, and very busy in making his grotto, which, you know, is a curious collection of ores, minerals, marbles, and all the wealth of the subterraneous world. You cannot imagine how eager he is at it.

I am going for a month or six weeks into Worcestershire and Somersetshire. A letter directed to my house in Pall Mall will be carefully sent to me, and always received with great satisfaction by,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G. LYTTELTON.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

London, October 7, 1741.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the account of the MSS. in the University Library; there is one among them I should be very desirous to see, viz. *Revocatio Articulorum quos Henr. 2dus. voluit Ecclesiam Ang. observâsse.* 177. As I suppose it cannot be very long, I will beg the favour of you to get it transcribed for me, when any other business carries you to Cambridge, but not before, for I am in no sort of haste for it. If you make any stay there, I would also venture to give you the trouble of looking into such of the MSS. as were written near the time of Henry the Second (for as to later writers I pay little regard to their authority), and of noting down what they say with regard to one principal point, upon which I find a difference in the

books I have consulted; viz. the conditions upon which Henry was reconciled to Becket, and whether upon that reconciliation he (Henry) gave up any of the points in dispute with the Church. It seems to me that he did not. Becket's Letters, printed at Rome, and since at Bruxelles, I must get the perusal of, and imagine I shall meet with them in some of the Libraries here. Quære, are the *Epistolæ Tho. Cant. ineditæ*, among Sir Sim. D'Ewes' MSS. different from those of the Vatican? If they are, I should be glad to see them too. I had once formed a project of giving you the meeting at Cambridge, that we might look over these things together, but I could not find time for it. In truth I have not leisure enough for the work I have undertaken, and I do not know when I am like to have more; but though I cannot make it my business, I shall amuse myself with it now and then, and get through it by little and little, if I can keep my mind from being disgusted with the dulness and dryness of the materials from which I am forced to compose it. Were I writing any portion of ancient history, the books I must read for that purpose would be an agreeable and useful study; but I am now fouling my mind with the dust and cobwebs of Monkish ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. I often envy Dr. Middleton the fine subject he had to write upon, the Age of Cicero,—that age which, above all others, before or since, furnishes the noblest materials for history.

Had he not taken it from me I had resolved to have made it the amusement of my old age, if I live to be old: it should have been the "*Pabulum senectutis atque otii;*" but I would not have confined it to the actions of Cicero; I would have written the History of Rome from the death of the younger Scipio, the last great Roman chief who was not dangerous to the liberties of his country, and carried it down to the battle of Actium, which finally changed the commonwealth into a monarchy. Of this period, so much of Livy being unhappily lost, we have no one entire good history, and yet I think there are scattered materials enough to enable one to compose it, not indeed as Livy did (even supposing a genius equal to his, which I believe is not to be found), but in such a manner as to make it a fine and useful work.

Having mentioned Middleton, I cannot help telling you that I have lately read his new edition of his "Letter from Rome," and think it is impossible to read it without being convinced that the Christian city has *borrowed* many of its superstitions from the Pagan: though *some* may arise, not from any imitation or adoption of the old rites, but from the common genius of superstition. I think, too, that the Doctor has considered and answered your objection, with a great deal of candour and good breeding, though it struck at the whole credit and use of his book, whereas his argument no way affects yours. Let me therefore beg you, dear sir, not to reply to him with any acrimony, or

rather not to reply to him at all, unless it be to give up the point; which you may do with a very good grace, because, in truth, you are both in the right, you in supposing that many customs believed to be derived from ancient religions, and engrafted into the new, are really original effects of a similar spirit acting alike at different times, and he in maintaining with, I think, demonstrative evidence, that the Popish idolatry * is, in many particulars, *designedly copied* from that of Old Rome. I have talked with Mr. Pope upon this subject, and he joins with me in desiring you to let the matter drop, unless you are willing to shew your candour in giving it up. Your friend, Mr. Onslow, too, is of the same mind. Middleton is really an ingenious man, and a fine writer, and seems to have a mind to be your friend; do not lose his friendship by insisting too pertinaciously upon a dispute with him, in which, if you could succeed, I do not think you would do any service to the Protestant cause. I am sure you will do me the justice to believe, that it is only my zeal for your honour which makes me take the liberty to give you this counsel, as I am very sincerely and affectionately,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

G. LYTTELTON.

* It must in candour be hoped that Mr. Lyttelton uses the term IDOLATRY here in its *loose* and *popular* sense, for the dangerous reverence paid by the Church of Rome to representations of holy persons; not in its *strict* meaning, so as to charge that Church with paying *divine worship* to such resemblances.—EDITOR.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

London, Oct. 27, 1741.

DEAR SIR,

I return you a thousand thanks for the favour of your last letter, and the regard you are pleased to pay to my advice. And to show you how little I have of the spirit of controversy, I will own to you that what you say has induced me to alter my opinion, and advise you to a different conduct from what I suggested to you before. I think you should say to the Dr. (Middleton) in print, what you tell me you have in a letter, *that you acknowledge the conformity*, or uniformity rather, of worship between Popery and Paganism to be as great as he represents it; and that therefore you by no means attack the credit or use of his book. I would have you add, as you seem willing to do, that many particular superstitions are, as the Dr. supposes, borrowed and derived by modern from ancient Rome; which is a truth as undeniable as that the ancient Pantheon is consecrated now to All Saints. But that the general mass and entire system of Popery is rather to be ascribed to a similar spirit than to an imitation or adoption of heathen rites; which you may show by some general arguments, without entering into too great a detail. This, with proper compliments to Middleton, will perhaps end the dispute better than

silence, which it is possible he and his friends might interpret as a contempt. And the Protestant cause will gain by the issue of it, since you will allow his charge upon Popery, as far as it can be maintained, and at the same time fix an imputation upon that church to which she will not be less sensible, viz. that of an exact conformity to Paganism in spirit and genius, working to the same bad ends, and therefore producing similar effects. I will instance only in a point which has always struck me, the surprising resemblance between the very ancient Pagan hierarchy of the Druids and that of the church of Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Look into Cæsar's Commentaries, L. vi. and see how exactly they agree in the most material instances;—a Papal supremacy in the chief Druid, not only over the people among whom he resided, but over all of the same religion in other countries and states; a judicature in him and his dependent priests in all causes, public and private; a power of enforcing their sentences and decrees by excommunication, attended with the heaviest temporal punishments; an exemption to the priests from taxes, war, and all public burthens; a careful concealment of their doctrines and discipline from the laity; and a principal share in the government wherever their religion prevailed:—how strongly, I say, do these two ecclesiastical polities resemble each other! And yet is there any pretence to suppose that the latter was

formed upon the plan of the first? Certainly not; but the same spirit prevailed in the Popish as in the heathenish priests, and meeting with the same ignorance, bigotry, and superstition in the laity, it naturally ran into the same system. The priests of ancient Rome and Greece were of a very different kind; they were not a separate body from the laity: and, let Dr. Middleton say what he pleases, the Pope is no copy of the Pontifex Maximus, nor do the Cardinals at all resemble the College of Augurs. The hierarchy of Rome bears a much nearer resemblance to the ancient church of Britain and Gaul, which I suppose was derived from an Ægyptian original; but this resemblance is no proof that Popery was designedly copied from Druidism; it only shows a similar spirit acting in both to the same purposes, the purposes of ecclesiastical ambition and power, favoured by the state of the clergy and people in those ages and countries in which they prevailed.

Upon the whole, dear sir, I think your opinion is right in the main, though in some particular instances Dr. Middleton has demonstrated his: I should therefore imagine you may end this dispute to the honour of both, and to the advantage of the Protestant cause. Mr. Pope is now at Bath, and therefore I cannot talk the matter over with him; but as he thought before you were *both in the right*, I dare answer for him he will approve of your concluding it by such a friendly and candid

reply as I propose, rather than by silence, which may look like contempt. All that he or I feared was, too sharp an answer, without such concessions as may save the credit of Middleton's work, and give the Papists no room to triumph in your dispute. However, if you would have me send your letter to him I will, and tell him at the same time what part I have advised you to take, unless you please to do it yourself, as I have at present little leisure for writing. I wish you were not at such a distance from London, that I might enjoy the pleasure of your company, and talk these matters over with you more at our ease: it is a shame to the age that such a man as you should be hid in a corner of Nottinghamshire. If there ever arises in this government any regard to science, genius, and virtue, you will be called out of your retreat, and placed in the station your merit deserves. Believe me, dear sir, that nobody wishes it more, or would be more proud to contribute to it, than

Your most affectionate humble servant,

G. LYTTELTON.

Doctor Ayscough desires his best compliments.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

Argyle Street, Jan. 3.

DEAR SIR,

It is always the greatest pleasure to me to receive any mark of your friendship, among which I reckon your kind congratulation upon my new office.* I hope that the change in the administration will be attended with good to the public; some *present* good, and more in futurity; for, as the evils we suffer have been gradually brought on, they must also be gradually cured, and by such remedies as our crazy constitution can bear. I flatter myself we are not yet come to that state in which, as Livy says, "*nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus*," but we are not far off it, and therefore the work of reformation must be a work of time, and rather effected by examples than laws. One great step towards it we have certainly made by taking off those odious party-distinctions, which must for ever have hindered all reformation while they remained, and were therefore kept up by those who had an interest that there should be none. I hope, too, and believe, that we have purged our foreign affairs of Hanover influence, and that the war will be now carried on by English counsels, and to English objects alone.

* Probably that of a Lord of the Treasury, in the year 1744.

Give me leave to assure you that nothing could give me more satisfaction than if any change of my fortune could put it more in my power to shew you with how much esteem and consideration, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

G. Lyttelton.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

Argyle Street, April 12, 1745.

Dear Sir,

I should have sooner acknowledged the favour of yours, if I had not been hindered by a great hurry of both public and private business, which will, I hope, excuse my delay.

I am obliged to your friendship on many accounts, but for none more than for the honour and pleasure you have procured me in the acquaintance of Mr. Yorke. He appears to me a young gentleman of equal virtues and talents; the last he will improve by living more in the world, and I dare say it will be without spoiling the first; which is no little promise to make for him, *his præsertim temporibus*.

Mrs. Lyttelton and I have a great many thanks to return you for the trouble you have given yourself in sending us a list of those voyages which it

is worth our while to travel through: under so good a guide as you are we cannot err, and expect a great deal of amusement. I hope at your leisure (if you have any leisure who have such a work upon your hands as the defence of true religion), you will also remember another kind promise you made to me, of assisting me in an abridged account of the Ancient History of Ireland. I shall come this summer to that part of my work which requires such an account; and perhaps I may snatch some holidays from the Treasury, and my other business, to make some little progress in it. Lord Chesterfield is coming back from Holland, with all the success and all the honour that could be possibly hoped for in the present distressed condition of public affairs. I wish *that* or any other good reason may bring you to town, that I may have the pleasure of your company, which is always a great one to,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

G. Lyttelton.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

Bath, Sept. 2, 1745.

Dear Sir,

I came hither for a couple of days to see Mr. Pitt, and go to-morrow to London. I wish I could

have been so fortunate as to find you and Mr. Allen here, or in town; but as I understand you are upon a tour that will soon bring you back to this place, and that I am not likely to meet you in London, I take the liberty to leave this for you at Mr. Allen's.

The occasion of my troubling you with it, is a report which I lately heard very confidently asserted of your designing speedily to publish a Life of Mr. Pope, in which you animadvert by way of a vindication upon the affair of Lord Bolingbroke's Papers. Now, as I know more of that matter than I believe you do, and am very sure the stirring it more will not turn out to our friend's advantage, I earnestly advise you not to publish anything upon that delicate subject till you have had some talk with me. You will also consider how many friends you have that are also friends to Lord Bolingbroke, particularly Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Murray; and how disagreeable it would be to them to have you two engaged in an angry dispute upon a point of this nature.

I hope you will excuse my taking this freedom, and impute it to the sincere friendship and great esteem with which I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant.

G. LYTTELTON.

I beg my best compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Allen.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

Argyle Street, Jan. 4, 1746.

DEAR SIR,

The young man who brings you this is a relation of mine, who by some indiscretions and faults in his youth, or rather childhood, many misfortunes, and the execrable villany of his uncle, who had the care of him and his affairs, is now in the greatest distress, aggravated by a miserable state of health contracted in the West Indies, for which he now comes to Bath. I have assisted him to the best of my power, and am carrying on a Chancery suit for him against his uncle, by which I hope he will recover a tolerable fortune which he has been wronged of; in the mean time he is very industrious and ingenious to help himself, as far as his health will permit. What I would beg of you for him is, only to favour him with your countenance, and Mr. Allen's, while he is at Bath, and recommend him to people there to employ him in such work as he is able to do, and buy some nick-nacks of him which he has by him, and are, I believe, good in their kind. He has a wife with him, who, by all I can learn of her, is a deserving, good woman. They are both ill, and it may be of use to help them to an honest apothecary that will take care of them, and not make them pay too dear for

what they want. If the poor man dies at Bath, it will make his last moments more easy to him to have your assistance, and know that his wife will not be left destitute of succour and consolation. But, though he is very ill, yet the Bath waters have done such wonderful cures in the West India cholic, which is his distemper, that I am hopeful they will recover him.

I will make no apology for giving you this trouble; to such a heart as yours and Mr. Allen's any office of humanity is a pleasure, and a greater object than this you cannot find, upon whom to exercise that disposition. I think it long since I had the pleasure to hear from you, and will not allow Mrs. Warburton to engross you so much as not to let your friends have their share of you.

Pray make my compliments acceptable to her, and to Mr. and Mrs. Allen. I am always, with the greatest regard and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

G. Lyttelton.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

London, May 11.

Dear Sir,

I am very much surprised to find, by your last letter, that one I wrote to you some time ago, to

acquaint you that his Royal Highness would gladly accept your present of the two volumes of your excellent book, did not come to your hands. By what accident it miscarried I cannot tell; this, I hope, will have better fortune. If you please to order your bookseller to send the books for the Prince when he has your commands to favour me with mine, I will carry them to him myself.

You need make no apology for the application of the Newark Petitioners. I should have been very glad to have served them upon your account, had it been practicable, *only as being your friends*, whether you had yourself desired it or no. But to make use of your name to me, without your leave, was certainly wrong; yet not worth your giving yourself a moment's vexation upon that account.

Be assured, dear sir, that I shall always think myself happy in any occasion of shewing the great respect and esteem with which I am

Your most faithful friend
and humble servant,
G. LYTTELTON.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

London, May 8.

DEAR SIR,

I had this morning the pleasure of presenting your excellent books to the Prince, who received them with great satisfaction, and has ordered me to return you his thanks. I am much obliged to you for your kind concern about my health. God be thanked, it has not been hurt by all the fatigues of this long and laborious session; and I am now entering into the married state, with as fair a prospect of happiness from it as any man ever did. I shall leave the town with my bride next Tuesday, pass a week at Mr. West's, and then go into Worcestershire for the whole summer, if not called back to Parliament by a Report from the Secret Committee. Wherever I am, it will be a great pleasure to me to hear of your health, and that you retain your kind thoughts of,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

G. LYTTELTON.

In case you should pass any days at Cambridge this summer, be so good to run over the manuscripts there relating to Becket, and see if you can find exactly what were the terms of his reconciliation with Henry the Second.

MR. LYTTELTON TO REV. WILLIAM WARBURTON.

SIR,

I have desired your bookseller to transmit to you from me a new edition of my Persian Letters, in which I have made some considerable corrections. I hope there is nothing in them now which can be misconstrued into *freethinking*, in the bad sense of the word, nor into the least offence to the Clergy, unless they confound their own honour and cause (which I am sure they ought not to do) with that of superstition and priest-craft. You will find many passages altered, and the whole much more correct; but I confined myself not to write any thing new, or particularly applicable to these times, being resolved to have no paper war to carry on against the Court writers or any body else; for the same reason I have forbid my bookseller advertising this new edition, and will let it steal into the world unknown to any but my particular friends. There are indeed two or three Letters added in the room of others that I have left out, but they are upon very general subjects. I believe you will think, upon the whole, that, unless I had entirely changed the plan of the book, which is and must be of a *critical* nature, I could not make it more free from those objections which it was thought by some to be liable to at its first pub-

lication. The sending you so slight a work is making you a very unequal return for the presents you was so kind to make me of your most learned and excellent book (the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated), but I beg you to accept it as a mark of the sincere esteem and friendship with which I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G. LYTTELTON.

I am going on at my leisure times with my History, which I hope, when finished, will be better worth your acceptance than these Letters, the product of my early youth. I should have concluded the Third Book last summer, if I had not wanted some books necessary to it, particularly the Brussels Edition of Becket's Letters, printed from that of the Vatican. If you could borrow it for me at Cambridge, I should be obliged to you.

DR. JORTIN TO THE REV. MR. WARBURTON.

[JOHN JORTIN was born in London in 1698, and educated at the Charter-house. He was admitted a pensioner of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1715; B. A. 1718-19; Fellow of his College soon after; M. A. 1721-2. He was patronised by Archbishop Herring; and his principal preferments were the rectory of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, given him by that prelate in 1751; and that of Kensington, and the Archdeaconry of London, which he received from Bishop Osbaldiston, the former in 1762, the latter in 1764. He died in 1770, aged 72.

His works were various and extensive; and he enjoyed a high reputation both as a scholar and as a divine.

He is characterised by Dr. Knox as distinguished by simplicity of manners, inoffensive behaviour, universal benevolence, candour, modesty, and good sense.—*Nichols's Lit. Anecd.*

A long intimacy had subsisted between him and Bishop Warburton; he having for three years, from 1747, been the Bishop's occasional assistant as preacher at Lincoln's Inn. But their friendship seems to have been ill-assorted; the cool and reserved temper of Jortin being little in unison with the frank and ardent temperament of Warburton; and, like other unequal friendships, it did not stand the test of time and chance. The following letters allude to jealousies and misgivings, which appear to have cooled, if not alienated, the kindly feelings of these two eminent persons from one another.—EDIT.]

London, Aug. 12, 1749.

DEAR SIR,

By John of Antioch I meant no other than the most Rev. Bishop Chrysostom, who was of Antioch, and went amongst Pagans and Christians by the

name of plain John or Jack, before he got the surname of Chrysostom: so Zosimus calls him, &c.

Lowth was a scholar: we have of him "Commentaries on the Prophets;" though I remember I thought them not extraordinary; a modest Reply to the five Letters on Inspiration; and Notes on Josephus and the Ecclesiastical Historians. Reading, in his edition, has added to the Notes of Valesius remarks which he had gleaned principally from our divines, Usher, Pearson, Ball, &c. and some notes of Lowth, amongst which is that which I mentioned to you. So that it stands in a pretty conspicuous place, and may perhaps be seen by some of our London divines. Whether you will take notice of it or no, you must judge for yourself.

I wish we had Philostorgius entire: his heterodoxy would make him the more valuable as an historian. It is good to have writers of different sects, *audi et alteram partem.* Eunomius is delivered down to us by the orthodox as a silly fellow; but his writings, some of which are extant, shew the contrary, and prove that he was a man of ability. He was accused of Manicheism, from which he was as remote as Athanasius was from Arianism. Titus Bostrensis lived in the time of Julian, and died under Valens. He wrote three books against the Manicheans, which are in the Biblioth. Patrum, *ou il parle des tremblements de terre arrivez depuis peu, lorsque Julien vouloit*

renouveller l'erreur de l'idolatrie, says Tillemont, vii. p. 383. Whether Titus meant the earthquake at Jerusalem I know not. However, there are vouchers enough without him.

But pray is this Work of yours in the press, and when may we expect to see it? I shall despatch that part of my remarks in few words, and refer the readers to my friend. I cannot help harbouring some suspicions concerning the testimonies of Rabbi Gants and Rabbi Gedalia, in Wagenseil. Did not Gedalia take his account from some Christian chronicon? When did these Jewish worthies live? You have more perseverance in study than I can pretend to. An indifference to all things seizes me; I desire nothing more than to forget and be forgotten.

The *dead ass* came into my mind verily and truly, but I rejected him.

I shall be glad of Mr. Forster's acquaintance, for whom I have had a great esteem; and to whom perhaps I have done such little service as lay in my poor power, by speaking well of him before Archbishops, &c. There was a rumour here once that he was to attack Middleton; but I suppose there was nothing in it. There are some academics here, my juniors, who know so little of me as to think my acquaintance worth the seeking. I am much obliged to them; for, if I get not a few young friends, I shall not know how the learned world goes on, and what is in fashion.

I need not tell you that I love to correspond with you, my letter will inform you of it; for you see I scribble on without wit and without end; but you will excuse all such imperfections in,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

J. JORTIN.

Rufinus is come to wait upon you, and hopes that you will treat him better than Jerom did. He desired me to intimate so much.

Copy of a Letter to Mr. Whiston, Bookseller, but directed to Dr. Jortin on the superscription.

Sept. 30, 1758.

MR. WHISTON,

I have read over Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus with great pleasure. If all his readers like it as well, as I do not doubt they will, you will find your account in it.

I perceive myself indebted to him here and there, as particularly in note d, p. 552. I have only one difficulty about it, which is (as he thinks me mistaken in the sense of Princeps) how it happened he did not tell me of it during the time he professed a friendship for me. He will say, perhaps, I should not have had it now, but for the joke at the end of it. As to that, the joke has been

so much worn, by its frequent application to many of my betters, that it might have been left at rest.

However, he will give me leave to requite his kindness, and in that way I should have been contented to receive his, in observing to him, and to him only, that where, at p. 114, he translates the words of Bembus, *apud Inferos pœna*, by *the pains of Hell*, I think it should have been *the pains of Purgatory*, and not of Hell: as Bembus's *apud Inferos* contained both a *Hell* and a *Purgatory*.

But these are trifles. There is another thing more worth his *attention* (for it can hardly have escaped his *knowledge*), that, from the first moment of my acquaintance with him to the last that he would allow me to call him friend, I had the vanity to be always recommending him to those of the first quality whom I knew; some of whom are yet living, and ready to do me justice in this particular. I will go further, that from that time to this day, I never wrote a line or a word reflecting on him (unless he so interprets my vindication of my sentiment concerning Socrates' behaviour at his death), nor did I ever instigate any other to do so, nor was I ever privy to any thing so done. I have indeed been foolishly enough officious, formerly, to ridicule some of his slanderers in a public paper. As to his own conduct during the same period, I leave that to his own reflections. It is a pleasure to me, though it should be none to him, that he is

the first man of parts that has ever entered himself in the numerous list of writers against me.

Thus much I thought proper to say, and I hope Dr. Jortin will not be so mean and so vain to imagine I had any other purpose in it than to hold him up a faithful picture of things as in a mirror. I think he has given too much ear to tale-bearers and malevolent people; or perhaps I am mistaken, and he acts by his own disposition. But this is not my concern, but his. This paper is for no one's sight but Dr. Jortin's and yours, unless he wills otherwise.

I am, &c.

W. W.

P.S. As this is a Letter that requires no answer, I judged it best, on second thoughts, to send it directly to the person who only has any concern in it.

DR. JORTIN TO THE REVEREND THE DEAN OF BRISTOL.

London, October 3, 1758.

Reverend Sir,

I had the favour of yours, which gave me a mixture of pain and pleasure; of pain, for having ever been at variance with you; * of pleasure, from

* In 1755 Jortin published, "Six Dissertations on different subjects." Of these, the sixth was on the state of the dead as de-

some prospect of seeing an end of it, unless I deceive myself.

You complain: I could complain too; but to what purpose would that serve? To irritate, perhaps, and that is not my present design.

You say that you never was concerned in the attacks made upon me. I ought to believe you; and I do believe you. But, before you informed me of it, I thought otherwise; and so did many a person besides me.

Give me leave also to say, that I stand equally clear towards you, in that respect, and that I have never, directly or indirectly, been concerned in any of the pieces which have appeared against you.

That you recommended me to persons who had it in their power to do me service I doubt not. Vouchers are needless. Your own word sufficeth with me; and I thank you for it.

As to the passage in Cicero, which I ought in civility to have mentioned to you; if I did not mention it, my memory deceives me egregiously. Surely, unless I am utterly mistaken, I did tell you of it; and you replied that Bishop Hare had once said the same thing to you.

scribed by Homer and Virgil. This, as tending to establish the high antiquity of the doctrine of a Future State, interfered with the Argument of the DIVINE LEGATION, and drew upon him a very severe attack from Bp. (then Mr.) Hurd in his "Essay on the Delicacy of Friendship; a Seventh Dissertation, addressed to the author of the Sixth."—(*Chalmers's Biog.*)

As to Bembus; you know that our English word Hell, if not in the vulgar way of speaking, yet in its original sense, hath a lax signification, and may answer well enough to *Inferi*. But your version is more accurate than mine; and (unless you should forbid it) I would willingly take occasion to mention it in the next volume, with respect, and with thanks.

Sit simultatis depositæ et nunquam resumendæ pignus et monumentum!

If I should live to publish that volume, I intend that there shall be nothing in it, or in any thing else that comes from me, to give you even the slightest offence.

I ought to return you thanks for the very candid judgment which you pass upon the account I have given of Erasmus. It is a more favourable judgment than my own hath been; and will give me a better opinion of the work than I had before.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

J. Jortin.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO RALPH ALLEN, ESQ.

[RALPH ALLEN was born in 1694 and died in 1764, aged 70. "He was a man of plain good sense, and the most benevolent temper. He rose to great consideration by farming the cross-posts, which he put into the admirable order in which we now find them (1788); very much to the public advantage as well as his own. He was of that generous composition, that his mind enlarged with his fortune; and the wealth he so honourably acquired, he spent in a splendid hospitality, and the most extensive charities. His house, in so public a scene as that of Bath, was open to all men of rank and worth, and especially to men of distinguished parts and learning, whom he honoured and encouraged; and whose respective merits he was enabled to appreciate by a natural discernment and superior good sense, rather than any acquired use and knowledge of Letters. His domestic virtues were above all praise. With these qualities, he drew to himself an universal respect; and possessed, in a high degree, the esteem of Mr. Pope, who, in one of his Moral Essays, has done justice to his modest and amiable character."

Mr. Warburton had been introduced to Mr. Allen by Mr. Pope in 1741, and admitted on an intimate footing at Prior Park; and in 1746 their friendship was still more closely cemented by Mr. Warburton's marriage with Miss Gertrude Tucker, Mr. Allen's favourite niece.—(*Bishop Hurd's Life of Warburton.*)]

[JOHN WILKES was born in London in 1727, and was educated at the University of Leyden. He became M.P. for Aylesbury in 1757, and in 1762 commenced a political paper called "The North Briton," in the Forty-fifth Number of which, April 23, 1763, he published a gross libel on the King. This was voted by the House of Commons to be false, scandalous, and malicious

ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, and the author of it expelled the House. In 1764, February 21, he was convicted in the Court of King's Bench of printing and publishing an obscene poem called "An Essay on Woman," to which he affixed the name of Bishop Warburton. Becoming, as is usual in such cases, the idol of the populace, he was thrice returned M.P. for Middlesex; chosen Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without in 1770; elected Lord Mayor in 1774; and Chamberlain of the City in 1779. He died in 1797, aged 70, with the reputation of a man of wit, learning, and polished manners, but of the loosest principles both of religion and morality.

It is to the scandalous publication last mentioned, and which involved an outrage, not only on the religion of his country, but also on public morals, and even on public decency, that reference is made in the following Letters. If some of the expressions and traits of feeling should be thought unbecoming the sacred function of the author, it should be considered in palliation that they were written by him in the keenness of his first feeling for violated religion, and whilst smarting under a base and wanton attack upon his character, both as a man and as a prelate. Whatever may be the unsuitableness of the terms "wretch and monster," in the mouth of a Bishop, it can hardly be thought that they were in themselves too harsh for one who had blasphemed his Saviour, libelled his King, and falsely and wantonly traduced his unoffending neighbour.—(*Chalmers's Biog. Dict.;* and EDIT.]

Grosvenor Square, Nov. 16, 1763.

HONOURED SIR,

I have sat down to write you an account of what passed yesterday in the House of Lords, on the opening of the session. But, before I begin, I must premise how I came to have that share in it which I had.

On my coming to town, I found a letter from

Lord Halifax, intimating that it was desired that I should be in town at the opening of the Parliament. In about a week after Lord Sandwich came to me from the same authority, with the most execrable papers in his hand that I believe ever polluted the light. They were parodies in print of the *Essay on Man* and the *Universal Prayer* by Pope, and of the *Veni Creator* in the "office of making Priests and Bishops." The *Essay on Man* is called an *Essay on Woman*, "with Notes and Commentary by Dr. Warburton." He desired to know whether I was willing to have him prosecuted for breach of privilege. I said, that though I was so diabolically treated as to have my name put to such a heap of diabolic lewdness and blasphemy, and other insults in the book, yet I despised the man as so infinitely beneath me, that I was in no disposition to prosecute him, unless the King desired it as for his service. He said it was much so; and I consented that he (Lord Sandwich) should move it, and I would speak what I thought fit on the occasion.

When I had wrote thus far I was called to the House; else it had been my intention to give you a minute history of the whole of yesterday's transaction. But I must defer it to my next, and shall only tell you at present, that the crime was received by the House with the utmost astonishment and detestation. It was fully proved, and he was voted guilty of it. But before punishment he was

to be heard, as to-morrow; but this morning Wilkes fought a duel with Martin, and had two bullets lodged in his body, which Hawkins extracted, and declares he may live. So that this action of madness and despair will retard the continuance of his prosecution, both in our House and in the House of Commons; for the same day a message came to the King from that House, complaining of the North Briton, No. 45, which was proved to be his by the same evidence that proved his diabolic parodies in ours. The House voted it scandalous, infamous, and tending to a *treasonable* insurrection. Mr. Pitt objected to the word *treasonable*, and divided with a minority of 111 against 270; C. Townshend with the minority, but spoke nothing. If he lives he will be expelled that House, and pilloried, fined, and imprisoned, I suppose, by ours.

I would not lose this early post, just to give you the sum of things. I reserve the particulars to my next.

I am, honoured Sir,
Your most dutiful nephew
and faithful servant,
W. WARBURTON.

P. S. You cannot conceive the horrors of this crime. I shall send you a copy of my speech: * I exaggerate nothing, and by that you may judge.

* This speech, together with another on the same subject, will be found at the end of the General Correspondence.

I told you some time ago that I was sure the opposition would degenerate into a *faction*. It has done so. The people see it; and they are likely to be ruined.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO RALPH ALLEN, ESQ.

Grosvenor Square, Nov. 17, 1763.

HONOURED SIR,

In my letter of yesterday I was forced to break off my narrative, where I told you I consented, for the King's service, to prosecute Wilkes. The whole proceeding was well planned, digested, and executed; and the secret so well kept, that when Lord Sandwich opened it, there were only two or three of the Cabinet Council that knew any thing of the matter. But it being immediately on the King's retiring after his speech, the House, I think, was fuller that ever I knew, and a great crowd of the foreign ministers just before me; but when Sir Sept. found I intended to speak, he very dexterously removed them all to another part of the House.

Lord Sandwich began with all the expressions of horror to open the affair. He read many parts that he supposed were not too shocking; and it was necessary to support the charge, that some should be read. In the midst, Lord Lyttelton affected to be so much shocked, that he rose up, and desired no more might be read; but the House said, Go on. When he had gone through

those parts which it was possible to be heard read, he was then to proceed to examine witnesses to prove Wilkes to be the author. When he had done his speech, and before the witnesses were examined, I rose up, and made a speech to the House, a copy of which I here enclose, that you may judge of this diabolic enormity; for nothing is aggravated.

When I had done, Lord Sandwich proceeded to the examination of witnesses; the sum of which was, that Wilkes gave them to be printed to the evidence, corrected them himself, owned that he he was the author, and that it cost him great pains and labour; that thirteen copies were printed, and no more. By the way, Lord Sandwich told me that, before the Parliament met, Wilkes, who had dispersed these copies to his friends, called them all in for fear that any one should escape into the enemy's hands; and then thought himself secure.

In the course of the examination, it appeared that some letters which were produced of Wilkes, to show he was the author, had been seized by the Secretary of State's warrant. On which Temple rose up, and said he had as great an abhorrence of the *Parodies* as any Lord in the House (when it is generally reported and believed, that he had them in his possession, shewed them to others, and was much delighted with them); but that the legality of the method by which they were obtained ought to be inquired into; that the liberty

of the subject was concerned in it; and a great deal of nonsense to that purpose. He spoke wretchedly ill, as usual, and was as wretchedly seconded by Lord Sandys, who is gone over to the opposition. They were answered by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Halifax, Lord Sandwich, and by the Chancellor with his usual heat. Still Temple hung upon it, and I believe rose up half a dozen different times, till Lord Mansfield, finding there would be no end, rose up, and, as he always does, ended the dispute at once. He said he knew nothing of this prosecution till he came into the House (which was true, for I first told him of it at his coming into the House). He said nothing was more absurd than the objection. The coming by evidence illegally does not make that evidence illegal in the trial of a criminal. That frequently criminals have been taken up by such as had no authority to do so; but that hinders not their being brought to justice. In short, he exposed and ridiculed the objection so effectually, that the House called out to *go on*. So that the wretch was fully convicted, and the House proceeded to the severest vote against the criminal. But here again Lord Mansfield interposed, and said he had his doubts whether it was regular to come to that vote till Wilkes had been heard. On which Lord Sandwich said, if he had such doubts, he would defer the vote to this day. While this was doing in the House of Lords, they were prosecuting the

effect of the King's Message against Wilkes in the House of Commons. When the wretch heard the news of what was done in our House, he was supposed to be so thunderstruck as to become desperate; and yesterday morning he sent a challenge, with most opprobrious language, to Martin, to meet him immediately in the field. Martin did so, and lodged a brace of bullets in his body; so that we are much afraid he will escape the pillory, and a thousand actions besides. If he recovers, and the House of Commons expel him immediately, then Sir Sept. takes him up. If his expulsion hangs, then there must be a conference between the two Houses before we can get him . . . .

I break off at present to go to the House, being summoned on Wilkes's affair. When I come back I propose to finish my letter.

I have just come from the House, where they have passed two more votes against Wilkes. The one is, that (besides the offence against me, which is to be punished by the House,) the House shall address the King, that he will be pleased to give order to the Attorney-General to prosecute Wilkes, his aiders and abetters, for blasphemy, in his courts of justice. Of these aiders and abettors *Churchill* is supposed to be one; and some think there are others of higher rank.

The other vote is, that, considering Wilkes's inability, by reason of his wound, to appear to-day, that this affair be resumed next Tuesday; and

that nothing shall excuse his attendance but the oaths of his physicians and surgeons, that he is incapable of attending.

Yesterday the House of Commons voted their address upon the King's speech, without a division.

Wilkes is supposed to be out of danger of every thing but the gallows.

I am, honoured Sir,
Your most dutiful nephew,
and devoted servant,
W. WARBURTON.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO RALPH ALLEN, ESQ.

Grosvenor Square, Nov. 26, 1763.

HONOURED SIR,

On Thursday night the House of Commons sat till two o'clock in the morning, and came to these two resolutions:

1. That the North Briton, No. 45, is an insolent and scandalous and false abuse on the person of the King and the two Houses of Parliament, tending to raise traitorous and seditious disturbances, to the overthrow of the Constitution, and that it shall be burnt by the hand of the common hangman. (The lawyers say it is every thing short of treason.)

2. That privilege of Parliament does not extend to crimes and misdemeanours of this nature.

Mr. Yorke never distinguished himself to so much advantage on the Court side of the question, and against the party he has gone over to, as on this occasion. He was universally applauded. And Mr. Pitt appeared to be so much nettled, that he abused the lawyers in general, who that day were all against him. However, he said that, "As to that impious man, who occasioned the dispute, and had blasphemed God and the King, he ought to be thrust out of the House;" and then thrust out his crutch in the action of a man driving a noxious animal from him.

The next day the Commons sent to desire a conference with us; and the two Houses met in the Painted Chamber, when the Commons desired our concurrence to their two votes. So we parted, and returned to our several Houses. When we came to ours, and made our report, it was agreed to immediately, *nemine contradicente*, that we should concur with them in their first vote. The Lord Temple desired it might be put off till the Lords had been summoned to attend on this occasion. The Duke of Bedford bade him look round, and see whether he had ever known a fuller house. And if they were already there, what occasion for a summons? As to the second resolution, it was agreed that we should take it into consideration next Tuesday. Wilkes continues to be yet in

danger. The monster is so singularly circumstanced that his greatest enemies wish his life, to bring him to punishment; and his greatest friends wish his death, to shake off that load upon them, and perhaps to prevent some discoveries. . . . . .

My duty and love to all.

Honoured Sir, your most dutiful
nephew, and faithful servant,
W. WARBURTON.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO RALPH ALLEN, ESQ.

Grosvenor Square, Dec. 1, 1763.

HONOURED SIR,

What passed to-day in the House was, several conferences with the Commons to adjust the ceremony of agreeing with them in the votes against the North Briton, the having it burnt by the common hangman on Saturday, and the two Houses addressing the King on the occasion next Monday.

To-day sixteen Lords in the minority protested against what passed on Tuesday, of no privilege of Parliament for seditious libels. The protest is, it seems, a very long and a very furious one. The Duke of Devon was in the number, but not the Duke of Newcastle. . . . . .

I am, honoured Sir,
Your most dutiful nephew,
and faithful servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

A MONSIEUR MONSIEUR WARBURTON.

[CHARLES DE SECONDAT, Baron of Montesquieu, was descended from an antient and noble family in Guienne. He was born in 1689, became President of the Parliament of Bourdeaux in 1716, and died in 1755.

His chief works are, Persian Letters, 1721; Causes of the grandeur and decline of the Romans, 1734; Spirit of Laws, 1748.

His writings, which are more distinguished for brilliancy than solidity, have maintained their reputation in France, but have lost much of the estimation they formerly possessed in this country.]

A Bordeaux, ce 6 Janvier, 1752.

Il n'y a rien de si glorieux pour moi, Monsieur, que de recevoir dans le même moment des marques de la bonté et de la generosité d'un aussi grand homme. J'apprend par Mr Domville, que vous m'avez fait la faveur de m'envoyer les œuvres de Mr Pope, où vous avez mis des rémarques: ce sont les gravures qui furent gravés sur le bouclier d'Achile. Je voudrois vous marquer, Monsieur, mon extrême réconnaissance; elle est proportionée aux grandes qualités de celuy dont je tiens le bienfait, c'est à dire, que l'un et l'autre sont infinis. J'ay l'honneur d'être tres respecteusement, Monsieur, vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

MONTESQUIEU.

A MONSIEUR MONSIEUR WARBURTON.

A Bordeaux, le 4 Juillet, 1752.

Monsieur Charles Yorke, en me faisant la faveur de m'écrire, m'a fait celle, Monsieur, de me procurer une de vos lettres ; je ne la dois qu'à l'ambition que j'ay d'acquerir et de conserver l'amitié d'un homme tel que vous, et il m'est aussi impossible de ne point la desirer, qu'il est impossible de ne point desirer l'honneur. Si je suis assez heureux de pouvoir faire le voyage que je projète en Angleterre, je chercheray, Monsieur, d'y meriter vos bontés. Je ne vous mande point des nouvelles de France, parcequ'il y a près de deux ans que je suis à ma campagne où il m'est permit—ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ—et j'ay éprouvé que l'on ne travaille pas toujours à proportion du tems que l'on a à soi, et que l'on emploit mieux le tems qu'on se dérobe : je ferois bien comme Martial, qui ne pouvoit pas travailler en Espagne et qui sentoit que Rome luy manquoit ; on a beau dire, qu'on est moins distrait à la Campagne ; on l'est davantage parcequ'on n'y peut ny se cacher n'y se perdre.

Il est vray que je n'avois pas eu le bonheur d'obtenir les bonnes graces du celèbre Lord : il y a trente ans que nous fîmes connoissance ; cette connoissance ne réussit point du tout, elle perit entre nos mains, et nous n'en pûmes rien faire ;

et sans qu'aucun de nous deux s'en apparent nous nous separâmes pour jamais : depuis ce tems j'ay tres peu parlé de luy, et ne me suis point embarrassé de quelle manière il parloit de moy ; il a continué à multiplier ses ennemis, et le bonheur de sa vie a été bien au dessous de ses grands talents. Je sçais que vous avez eu des démélés avec luy à l'occasion de Mr. Pope, et que vous luy avez dit là dessus de tres belles choses. J'ay, Monsieur, l'honneur d'être, avec la plus parfaite estime et un respect infini, vôtre tres humble et tres obéissant serviteur.

MONTESQUIEU.

FOR THE REVEREND DOCTOR WARBURTON.

A Paris, ce 26 May 1754.

J'ay reçu, Monsieur, avec une réconnoissance très grande, les deux magnifiques ouvrages que vous avez eû la bonté de m'envoyer, et la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire sur les œuvres posthumes de Mylord Bolinbroke, et comme cette lettre me paroit être plus à moi que les deux ouvrages qui l'accompagnent, auxquels tous ceux qui ont de la raison ont part, il me semble que cette lettre m'a fait un plaisir particulier. J'ay lu quelques ouvrages de Mylord Bolinbroke, et s'il m'est permis de dire comment j'en

ai éte affecté, certainement il a beaucoup de chaleur. Mais il me semble qu'il l'employe ordinairement contre les choses, et il ne faudroit l'employer qu'à peindre les choses. Or, Monsieur, dans cet ouvrage posthume dont vous me donnez une idée, il me semble qu'il vous prépare une matière continuelle de triomphe. Celui qui attaque la religion revelée n'attaque que la religion revelée, mais celui qui attaque la religion naturelle attaque toutes les religions du monde. Si l'on enseigne aux hommes qu'ils n'ont pas ce frein ci, ils peuvent penser qu'ils en ont un autre. Mais il est bien plus pernicieux de leur enseigner qu'ils n'en ont pas du tout. Il n'est pas impossible d'attaquer une religion revelée parce qu'elle existe par des faits particuliers, et que les faits par leur nature peuvent etre une matière de dispute : mais il n'en est pas de même de la religion naturelle ; elle est tirée de la nature de l'homme, dont on ne peut pas disputer, et du sentiment interieur de l'homme, dont on ne peut pas disputer encore. J'ajoute à ceci quel peut être le motif d'attaquer la religion revelée en Angleterre ? ou l'y a tellement purgé de tout prejugé destructeur qu'elle n'y peut faire de mal, et qu'elle y peut faire au contraire une infinité de biens. Je sais qu'un homme en Espagne ou en Portugal que l'on va bruler, ou qui craint d'étre bruler, parcequ'il ne croit point de certains articles dependans ou non de la religion revelée, a un juste sujet de l'attaquer parcequ'il peut avoir

quelque esperance de pourvoir à sa deffense naturelle. Mais il n'en est pas de même en Angleterre, où tout homme qui attaque la religion revelée l'attaque sans intérêt, et où cet homme, quand il réussiroit, quand même il auroit raison dans le fond, ne feroit que detruire une infinité de biens pratiques pour etablir une verité purement speculative.

J'ay eté ravi, Monsieur, que vous ayez donné une plus grande étenduë à votre Legation de Moïse. Cet ouvrage, et votre Julien, sont fort connus dans ce païs cy, mais ils le seroient encore bien davantage s'ils étoient traduits, et je pense qu'on va les traduire ; mais je voudrois bien qu'ils ne tombassent pas entre les mains de certains de nos traducteurs, qui defigurent tout ce qu'ils touchent, et convertissent l'or en fer. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de m'accorder toujours la continuation de vos bontés et de votre amitié. C'est une grande chose d'avoir la bienveillance de ceux qui l'on admire. J'ay l'honneur d'être, avec toute sorte de respect, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres
obéissant serviteur,
MONTESQUIEU.

REV. LAURENCE STERNE TO BISHOP WARBURTON.

[LAURENCE STERNE was born at Clonmel in 1713, admitted of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1732; B.A. 1736; M.A. 1740. Having entered into holy orders, he obtained by the influence of his uncle, Jaques Sterne, Prebendary of Durham, the living of Sutton, and afterwards a prebend of York, to which, from other private connexions, he afterwards added the living of Stillington. In 1760 he removed to York. In 1762 he went to France, and two years after to Italy. In 1767 he left York, and went to London to publish his "Sentimental Journey," where he died in 1768. —*Chalmers's Biog. Dict.*

His works, which are well known, abound in a peculiar vein of humour, and in a deep tone of pathos; but they contain many scenes and incidents of a loose and immoral character.

The following Letters are quite characteristic of the man; while those of Bishop Warburton in reply prove how clearly he saw the errors of his Correspondent, and how judiciously as well as honestly (according to the low standard of the day) he applied himself to correct them.—EDITOR.]

York, June 9, 1760.

MY LORD,

Not knowing where to send two sets of my Sermons, I could think of no better expedient than to order them into Mr. Berenger's hands, who has promised me that he will wait upon your Lordship with them the first moment he hears you are in town. The truest and humblest thanks I return your Lordship, for the generosity of your protection and advice to me; by making a good

use of the one I will hope to deserve the other. I wish your Lordship all the health and happiness in this world, for I am

Your Lordship's most obliged and most grateful servant,

LAURENCE STERNE.

P. S. I am just sitting down to go on with Tristram, &c. The scribblers use me ill, but they have used my betters much worse, for which may God forgive them.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO MR. STERNE.

Prior Park, June 15, 1760.

REV. SIR,

I have your favour of the 9th inst. and am glad to understand you are got safe home, and employed again in your proper studies and amusements. You have it in your power to make that which is an amusement to yourself and others useful to both: at least you should, above all things, beware of its becoming hurtful to either, by any violations of decency and good manners: but I have already taken such repeated liberties of advising you on that head, that to say more would be needless, or perhaps unacceptable.

Whoever is in any way well received by the public is sure to be annoyed by that pest of the public, profligate scribblers. This is the common

lot of successful adventurers. But such have often a worse evil to struggle with: I mean the over-officiousness of their indiscreet friends. There are two Odes, as they are called, printed by Dodsley. Whoever was the author, he appears to be a monster of impiety and lewdness. Yet such is the malignity of the scribblers, some have given them to your friend Hall; and others, which is still more impossible, to yourself: though the first Ode has the insolence to place you both in a mean and a ridiculous light. But this might arise from a tale equally groundless and malignant, that you had shewn them to your acquaintance in MS. before they were given to the public. Nor was their being printed by Dodsley the likeliest means of discrediting the calumny.

About this time another, under the mask of friendship, pretended to draw your character; which was first published in a *Female Magazine*, and from thence it was transferred into a *Chronicle*. Pray, have you read it, or do you know its author?

But of all these things I dare say Mr. Garrick, whose prudence is equal to his honesty or his talents, has remonstrated to you with the freedom of a friend. He knows the inconstancy of what is called the public, towards all, even the best intentioned of those who contribute to its pleasure or amusement. He (as every man of honour and discretion would) has availed himself of the public

favour to regulate the taste, and, in his proper station, to reform the manners of the fashionable world; while by a well-judged economy he has provided against the temptation of a mean and servile dependency on the follies and vices of the great.

In a word, be assured there is no one more sincerely wishes your welfare and happiness than,

Reverend Sir, &c.

W. G.

REV. LAURENCE STERNE TO BISHOP WARBURTON.

Coxwould, June 19, 1760.

My Lord,

This post brought me the honour of your letter, for which, and for your kind and most friendly advice, I return your lordship all I am able—my best thanks. Be assured, my Lord, that willingly and knowingly I will give no offence to any mortal by any thing which I think can look like the least violation either of decency or good manners, and yet, with all the caution of a heart void of offence or intention of giving it, I may find it very hard, in writing such a book as Tristram Shandy, to mutilate every thing in it down to the prudish humour of every particular. I will, however, do my best—though laugh, my Lord, I will, and as loud as I can too.

With regard to the Lyrick Odes, all I know of them is this; that the first Ode, which places me and the author in a ridiculous light, was sent to me in a cover without a name, which, after striking out some parts, as a whimsical performance, I showed to some acquaintance; and as Mr. Garrick had told me some time before he would write me an Ode, for a day or two I supposed it came from him. I found afterwards it was sent me from Mr. Hall; for from a nineteen years' total interruption of all correspondence with him, I had forgot his hand, which at last, when I recollected, I sent it back. The second Ode, which abounds with indecencies, is, I suppose, his too; as they are published together, there can be little doubt. He must answer for them; having nothing myself to answer for with regard to them but my extreme concern, and that a man of such great talents, as my acquaintance Mr. Hall is, should give the world so much offence. He has it greatly in his power to make amends; and if I have any penetration, and can depend upon the many assurances he gives me, your Lordship will, I hope, live to see it. He is worth reclaiming, being one of those whom nature has enabled to do much hurt or much good.

Of all the vile things wrote against me, the letter your Lordship mentions in the Female Magazine is the most inimicitious, and gave me, for that reason, the most concern; under which I had no better relief than denying the facts, and cry-

ing out against the hardship done me by such a contexture of lies tacked together, not to serve me but to overthrow me. Such profligate wretches too often gain their end. Every mortal in town says it was wrote by a Dr. Hill, who wrote the Inspectors, and, they tell me, has the property and management of that Magazine. Garrick tells me the same story, and with reasons to confirm it. These strokes in the dark, with the many kicks, cuffs, and bastinadoes I openly get on all sides of me, are beginning to make me sick of this foolish humour of mine, of sallying forth into this wide and wicked world to redress wrongs, &c. of which I shall repent as sorely as ever Sancho Panza did of his in following his evil genius of a Don Quixote through thick and thin; but as the poor fellow apologised for it, so must I: "it was my ill-fortune and my errantry, and that's all that can be said on't." Otherwise, I wish from my heart I had never set pen to paper, but continued hid in the quiet obscurity in which I had so long lived: I was quiet, for I was below envy and yet above want; and indeed so very far above it, that the idea of it never once entered my head in writing; and as I am now £200 a-year further from the danger of it than I was then, I think it never will; for I declare I have all I wish or want in this world, being in my calculation of money, all out, as rich as my friend Garrick, whose goodness of heart and

honest cowardice in keeping *so far* out of the way of temptation, I nevertheless esteem and admire.

The Bishop of Carlisle did me the honour yesterday of a call; of whom I had the satisfaction of inquiring after your Lordship's health, and particularly how far the waters had relieved you under the pain and indigestion you complained of. He hoped your Lordship was better.

I wish your Lordship all the most grateful man can wish—happiness in this world and the next.

I am, my Lord,

With all esteem and duty,

Your affectionate servant,

LAU. STERNE.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO THE REV. L. STERNE.

P. P. June 26, 1760.

REV. SIR,

I have the favour of your obliging Letter of the 19th. It gives me real pleasure (and I could not but trouble you with these two or three lines to tell you so) that you are resolved to do justice to your genius, and to borrow no aids to support it, but what are of the party of honour, virtue, and religion.

You say you will continue to laugh aloud. In good time. But one who was no more than even

a man of spirit would choose to laugh in good company; where priests and virgins may be present . . . .

Do not expect your friends to pity you for the trash and ribaldry scribbled against you; they will be apter to congratulate you upon it.

Nothwithstanding all your wishes for your former obscurity, which your present chagrin excites, yet a wise man cannot but choose the sunshine before the shade; indeed he would not wish to dwell in the malignant heat of the dog-days, not for the teasing and momentary annoyance of the numberless tribes of insects abroad at that time, but for the more fatal aspect of the superior bodies.

I would recommend a maxim to you which Bishop Sherlock formerly told me Dr. Bentley recommended to him, that a man was never writ out of the reputation he had once fairly won, but by himself.

I am, &c.

W. G.

REV. JONATHAN TOUP TO BISHOP WARBURTON.

[JONATHAN TOUP was born at St. Ives in Cornwall in 1713, and was educated partly at the Grammar School of that town, and partly under a private master at St. Merryn's. He was B.A. of Exeter Coll. Oxford, but M. A. of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1756. In 1750 he was presented by Bishop Lavington to the rectory of St. Martin's near Looe; and, by the recommendation of Bishop Warburton to Bishop Keppel, was appointed Prebendary of Exeter 1774, and Vicar of St. Merryn's 1776. He died in 1785, aged 71.

He gained the notice of Bishop Warburton by his "Emendationes in Suidam," published in consecutive parts in 1760, 1764, 1766, Appendix 1775. Amongst other works, he published, in 1767, "Epistola Critica ad virum celeberrimum Gulielmum Episc. Glocestr."

His reputation as a critic was confirmed by his edition of Longinus, published in 1778. He is generally acknowledged to have possessed profound learning and critical sagacity, though sullied by petulance of expression towards those who differed from him.—*Chalmers's Biog. Dict.*]

St. Martin's, 27 June, 1767.

MY LORD,

I thank your Lordship for your Sermons, which I received last week, and particularly for your Charge, which is a very good one. Your Sermon on the *Fall of Satan* is an incomparable one. You have said more in it than all that have written against the Doctors Mead and Sykes. I was always prejudiced in favour of the real possession; and, I am now glad to find, not without reason.

In a note to your fourth Sermon you have taken down Kennicott and his *good wife* very decently. I expect very little from these collators of Hebrew MSS. The idiom of the language is in a great measure lost; and it will be in vain to hunt after words, when we know not what use to make of them.

In your Sermon on the *Resurrection* you have given us three cases of miracles; in the second of which you place *Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple.* This miracle Lardner, as I am informed, has endeavoured lately to throw aside. But how he can set aside the testimony of Marcellinus I know not.

I hope I shall send your Lordship my *Critical Epistle* in a fortnight, in which I have considered that famous passage of Suetonius in Claudio: "Liber cui index erat ΜΩΡΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ;" which has greatly puzzled the Commentators. I am, my Lord, with great respect,

Your Lordship's most dutiful
and obedient servant,
Jo. Toup.

REV. ARCHIBALD MACLAINE TO THE REV. DR. WARBURTON.

[Archibald Maclaine was born in Ireland in 1722, and educated for the Presbyterian ministry, under Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow. In 1745 he was appointed Pastor of the English Episcopal Church at the Hague, where he continued till forced by the French Revolution to take refuge in England in 1794. His latter years were spent in Bath, where he died in 1804, aged 82.

His chief work is his Translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 6 vols. 8vo. 1756. He wrote besides, a Letter of some merit to Soame Jenyns, in reply to his Internal Evidence of Christianity.—*Chalmers's Biog. Dict.*]

Hague, July 10, 1758.

Reverend Sir,

Mr. Miller communicated to me the letter in which you were so good as to express your favourable reception of my Literary News, and to order me a present which is singularly precious, both on account of the gift and the giver. This, Sir, furnishes me with a happy opportunity of expressing the high sense I have ever entertained, since I was capable of thinking with any degree of solidity, of the eminent services you have rendered to religion and letters. I am also proud of being entitled to say, that Dr. Warburton has acquired a right to my gratitude, as well as to my esteem and veneration, for there are certain persons to whom it is an honour to be obliged.

I send you with this letter, by General Yorke's Courier, Mr. Bouiller's book, and you will find in the volume of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, which I have inclosed with it, our first extract from that performance. As I thought proper to wait for your animadversions upon his examination of your Hypothesis concerning the Book of Job, I have only analysed his arguments, and presented them fairly, without any critical reflections. You will see in this extract (page 471) an assertion that is not quite exact: viz. that the greatest part of Bouiller's objections to your Hypothesis had been already made use of by your English adversaries, and that you had answered them in your Remarks, &c. against Dr. Grey. This was advanced upon the fallible report of memory; but upon reading over again, after the publication of our Extract, Dr. Grey's preface, and your Remarks, I found that Bouiller's objections are different from his, and are also proposed with more art, though with less modesty. In our second extract of Bouiller's work, which is now in the press, we have been obliged to venture some critical reflections, and to expose some of his mistakes and his airs, with a wholesome severity. In the mean time, Sir, we judged it proper to leave you to vindicate your own cause, from a persuasion that you will do it in a manner worthy of yourself, and with a degree of force infinitely superior to what we could exert, were we ever so warmly attached to your Hypo-

thesis. If, therefore, you judge Mr. Bouiller so far worthy of your notice, as to honour me with your remarks upon his objections, and to permit me to publish them, I shall translate them into French, and insert them in our journal, to which I am beforehand convinced they will be an ornament, because I know your pen can produce nothing that will not be interesting to the lovers of learning.

You will perceive, Sir, in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* of the volume I here send you, that I have been led to mention you a second time by an ignorant and virulent Discourse upon the Lord's Supper, written in answer to one of your Sermons on that subject. Though I was limited to a short space, yet I could not stand neuter in this dispute, both because I am persuaded that your hypothesis is as solid as it is ingenious; and also as I imagined even my poor remarks sufficient to expose the weakness of an author unworthy of your notice.

Pardon, Sir, the importunity of this letter in favour of the motives that engaged me to write it, and permit me to express once more the high degree of esteem and veneration with which I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble and most
obedient servant,

A. MACLAINE.

P. S. As I do not choose that it should be publicly known that I am concerned in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences,* may I beg, Sir, that you will oblige me by your silence in this matter. We are tolerably concealed from the public here, and this enables us in many cases to be impartial without offence, or rather without feeling the disagreeable consequences of offending.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS FROM BISHOP WARBURTON TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR ATWELL.

[Joseph Atwell was of a family long settled at Exeter, and was born about 1695. He was Rector of Exeter College, Oxford; Prebendary of York, Gloucester, and Southwell; Chancellor of Norwich; Rector of Oddington, and Vicar of Fairford, Gloucestershire. He died in 1768, aged 73.

Dr. Atwell appears to have been one of that large class of literary characters who, though distinguished amongst, and respected by their cotemporaries for various learning, yet, having never devoted their talents and acquirements to any definite literary objects, have left scanty materials for biography.

Mr. Badcock, of South Molton, speaks of him as "a man of curious observation and learning;" and says, that "every thing that came from his pen was known to be of considerable value."

His acquaintance with Bishop Warburton seems to have commenced about 1754; from which period to the time of Dr. A.'s death, a constant and unreserved correspondence appears to have been kept up between them. From the numerous letters forming Bishop Warburton's part of this correspondence, the following extracts only have been decided on for publication.

To judge from the style of these letters, Dr. A. appears to have been in every respect a kindred spirit to Bishop Warburton; one to whom he had recourse in all moods and on all occasions—a fact which will serve in part to explain the cautious reserve exercised by the Editor with reference to this correspondence.—Editor.]

Prior Park, June 21, 1754.

. . . Bolingbroke's large system of *Naturalism* will be published in a few days. There wants only

the Church Zophiel in mid air to warn the heroes of the two Universities:

> "Arm, warriors! arm for fight! the foe 's at hand.
> He comes, and settled in his face I see
> Sad resolution and secure. Let each
> Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield,
> His adamantine coat gird well."——

But half of them are hunting after old Hebrew roots, and the other half after more substantial diet. The polemic bands, so famed of old, lie at present, like Bays's army at Brentford, somewhere incognito. A famous German philosopher lately discovered the art of preserving annual insects for a great number of years, by wrapping them up in gums and varnish. Who knows but some provident prelate, in his great care for the church, has, in this long time of peace, been laying up these useless gentlemen in pickle, to be brought out fresh against some great day of action. The day is now approaching: and I fancy if one could be admitted to their retreat, where I suppose they may lie piled up in order, like billets in a woodhole, we should see them, though yet in their aurelia state, begin to wag their tails, and discover signs of their returning vigour. But if this be only my fancy, and we have none of those bodies in reserve, we are in a very bad way, unless the country militia prove better than they used to be.

Prior Park, Feb. 6, 1754.

Bolingbroke's Works, in 5 vols. 4to. will certainly be published in a few days. They have given me a sight of them beforehand, but it is to be a secret. His rage at religion is astonishing, as well as at the defenders of it. "Abbadie was mad; so was the President Forbes. Cudworth's notion of eternal and immutable morality, a rhapsody of jargon. Clarke triumphs in a foolish and wicked rhodomontade. Selden, Grotius, Cumberland, and Puffendorf seem to be great writers on the principles of natural law by much the same right as he might be called a great traveller who should go from London to Paris by the Cape of Good Hope. The whole body of divines absurd in their reasonings, guilty of a deal of blasphemy; —in confederacy with atheists;—quote Moses as solemnly as Don Quixote did Archbishop Turpin, and are as mad as he:—guilty of fraud and imposture when they endeavour to prove the divinity of Scripture;—their preaching up the obligation to imitate God, false and profane;—impudently and wickedly assume that there is a law of right reason common to God and man;—trifling, solemn dogmatists in criticism and theology, who have advanced so many absurd and impious, really impious paradoxes;—the Jewish people in a delirium when they thought themselves the people of God; —their history as fictitious as Amadis of Gaul. It

is impossible to read what Moses has writ on the creation, without feeling contempt for him as a philosopher, and horror as a divine.—If we believe in Moses' God, we cannot believe that God which reason shews us: the whole system of the Law of Moses was founded in murder.—St. Paul a fanatic, who, by artificial theology, would explain the obscure and imperfect revelation of Christ, and supply the deficiencies of it."

This is a small sample of his flowers in his own words. His ravings put me in mind of those lines of Donne—

> "Old Dante, dreaming o'er the infernal state,
> Ne'er saw such scenes of rancour, rage, and hate."

But his arguments are as soft as his words are hard: and where he does not steal his objections from Collins, Tindal, Morgan, Toland, &c. which, indeed, is almost every where, his own are the poorest that ever came from an unbeliever's pen. Of this enormous heap of rage, insolence, and impiety, there are two volumes and a half, in large quarto, almost all of them addressed to Mr. Pope; one half of which he never saw, and the other half has been new modelled since his death.

In the Preface to one or other of my volumes of the Divine Legation, I believe I shall have opportunity to examine the principles of almost every point of importance. I shall begin with him very soon.

Prior Park, Jan. 8, 1755.

I have your kind Letter of the 8th past yet to acknowledge. The only question between you and me (if there be any question) is, whether a marriage celebrated contrary to the laws of the civil magistrate be that indissoluable union instituted by God, and explained by Christ. I hold it is not, but dissolvable like an unlawful oath; though the parties making it, become criminal, and are under obligations to repair, as they can, the injuries done to one another.

Hume has wrote a History of James and Charles I. It seems to be intended as an apology for the House of Stewart, and no unartful one. He is an atheistical Jacobite, a monster as rare with us as a hippogriff. He does not want judgment in the selection of his facts, nor ease nor sprightliness in telling them; but without one new discovery, and not one old embarrassment cleared up. He seems to have studied the quarrel, but is not much versed in particulars. In a word, he is often sensible, generally specious, and almost always superficial.

Prior Park, Dec. 9, 1755.

. . . . What a sad calamity has befallen Lisbon! Time was, when the imaginary displeasures of

Heaven in a comet or an eclipse have disarmed warring nations when their swords were already lifted up for mutual slaughter. But I do not hear that these marks of divine displeasure on a sinful people are likely to abate our and our neighbours' animosities against one another. It is indeed a dreadful thing to suppose these disasters the vengeance of our offended Master; but it is ten times more terrible to believe we have our precarious being in a forlorn and fatherless world. In the first case, we have it in our power to avert our destruction by the amendment of our manners; in the latter, we are exposed without hopes of refuge to the free rage of matters and motion in a ferment.

Prior Park, Sept. 4, 1755.

. . . . It is not a month since I had the pleasure of hearing from you; but a month in these stirring times makes strange changes. Within this period we have been rejoicing for the capture of French ships of war, and lamenting for the fate of Braddock. I always suffer in these desolations that ravage the *flourishing works of God*, as the poet calls them, whoever is the object of this madness, whether my countrymen or their enemies; who, in the language of another poet, thus *load Death's quiver with a crime*. I may not speak very intelligibly while I speak in the language of poetry;

but, in plain English, I look upon *war* as the blackest mischief ever breathed from Hell upon the fair face of the creation. But the system, it seems, is changed; and it is the balance of America we are to fight for. In good time. While the quarrel was in Europe it was for *religion;* in America it is professed to be for *trade.* I like this plain dealing. We know now what we are about. It is not now for the surplice or the cloak,—a very trifling quarrel; but for deer-skins and beaver-skins, in which we are told our all is at stake. So that the Church, which always made one in bustling times, is likely to make but a slight figure in this quarrel, especially if it be kept in America. I do not know what the Government will want of us, except our *missionaries,* which I apprehend will not much thin the sacred militia; nor, by that they have done hitherto, much advance the public cause.

Have you read Dr. Rawlinson's will? While the Society of Antiquaries was in his favour, he left it £5 a-year, on condition not to increase the number of their members; afterwards they fell into disgrace, he then revoked everything he had given them, establishes professors at Oxford, but directs they shall not be members of the Society of Antiquaries. In short, a strange uncharitable spirit runs through all his donations against this poor society; which £5 a-year, it seems, could induce to make no more members. I think it uncharitable

in every sense, as the Society is an hospital for blockheads, and the objects so numerous. But this great man was at perpetual war with bookworms, both literal and metaphysical. It was his family disease to be fond of books, which he valued, you see by his will, not as they were good, but as they were MSS. or printed on *silk* and *vellum;* which, to secure from the enemy, it was his custom to cover and intrench in *Russia leather.* This humour went so far at last, that, well knowing worms would not fail to attack him as well as his books, he orders himself, too, to be finally bound up in Russia leather. . . . .

Prior Park, Dec. 28, 1755.

. . . . Pray have you seen Mr. Jortin's last book, entitled *Six Dissertations?* The last of which I did not well understand the drift of (neither would you), till I saw a pamphlet, entitled, A Seventh Dissertation, addressed to him. It was sent hither by the post; and that was the first notice I had of it. Nor do I know from what quarter it comes, further than from the quarter of my friends in general, having no data to guess at the author. I am very sincere with you in this. However, was I not so much concerned in it, I would recommend it to your reading; and was I not so greatly prejudiced in favour of it, I would say it is a very fine

and delicate piece of raillery. It has opened my eyes as to the person to whom it is addressed. But who is it that does not now and then meet with such friends. It has only this effect on me, to know better how to value those who are friends deserving of the name.

Prior Park, Feb. 27, 1761.

Dear Sir,

I have your obliging favour of the 24th. As my Letter which you refer to was so long a-coming, I conclude from that, as well as from your manner in speaking of Northleach, that one I wrote since was not then come to hand. It was to beg the favour of you to give me some certain intelligence of the *real value* of Northleach, which would be of high importance to me, as I shall always think the justly regulating the speedy discharge of my obligations to my friends will be: so that nothing can be kinder than the getting me this intelligence. . . . .

I confess to you, that it sometimes happens, that those to whom we are indebted are not always very delicate in their expectations of what is to be returned to them; nor do they always balance the difference between the magnificent patronage of large Sees, and the pitiful droppings of small ones; yet shall I always think that my debts to my benefactors are to be discharged

before I think of any provision for my own family.

Prior Park, April 23, 1761.

Your Vinerian Professor's* offered fortune is the most extraordinary story. I have entertained a mean opinion of his parts and abilities from that which got him a reputation,—his Introductory Lecture, which he printed. Lord Mansfield was commending it much. I said (what is true) that there is nothing curious in it but what he took from Selden's Dissertation on Fleta. Take my word for it, the old leaven will continue in that place † till Whiggism not only regains its power but its principles, which it first lost before it lost its power, and which till it regains, it will deserve no power.

Prior Park, Mar. 14, 1761.

You would be very happy in Mr. Hurd, whose genius and learning, though of the first rate, is his least praise. The clearness of his virtue, and the gentleness of his manners make him the idol of his friends.

Have you seen the Dean of Bristol's, the quondam Clerk of the Closet's sermon at St.Margaret's?

* Sir Wm. Blackstone. † Oxford.

He has fairly canonized our gracious Sovereign by the name of *George the Good:* but what might be whispered in the royal closet, sounds but ill from the sacred chair.

It is not so at Oxford; they, like the ancient Pagans, are for deifying only their *dead* kings. One Horne, of Magdalen, has preached at St. Mary's the last 30th of January sermon, in which he defends the old parallel in favour of Charles the First. This *Horn-work*, raised against all attacks upon that sacred character, may truly be called a *Bull-work*. He tells his audience I am worse than his murderers, for saying "*he risked his Crown with great complaisancy of conscience in support of Episcopacy.*" But what then? The authors of the Revolution are worse still; for he calls the *doctrine of resistance to Government* a *diabolic doctrine*. And if ever there was resistance to Government, it was when a few people called over the Prince of Orange to turn out King and Parliament, and the army on Hounslow heath. But the surprising part of the affair is, that Brown, the Vice-Chancellor, should give his *imprimatur* to all this insult on the present Constitution.

When —— went last to Ireland, he contrived, in order to secure himself a safe and easy passage, that the vane on the top of his

house should be tied down to the east point. Do not think I tell you a flam; it is a literal truth. It was I suppose a family charm: he might have learned it of his ancestors, those Laplanders whom King Sweno transplanted into the North of Ireland, to civilize the savage inhabitants. While this was carrying on between him and his weathercock, Sir John Dolben was just got out of a tedious illness, and wanted exercise to re-establish his health. But as he was to wait for mild weather, he would need be carried out every day into his garden to see how the wind stood. Unluckily no weathercock was in sight from thence, but ———'s; and that still pointed east.

The young ladies, his daughters, would by no means commit him to his exercise during that inclement quarter; so he was contented to wait for a change. But the vane, as well it might, continuing steady to its trust, and the weather growing warm, the old Knight lost all patience; and complaining to a friend of this discordancy between wind and weather; I'll be hanged (said the other) if —— has not been playing tricks with his weathercock; for I remember being with him the morning he went away; when a workman came down stairs, and assured the doctor he had "made all safe." This set them upon inquiry; and the spell the blockhead had clapt upon the vane, became the jest and entertainment of the place.

Prior Park, April 25, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

When I first mentioned an address to the Dean, I took it for granted that it would not only be proper, but not singular. I had two reasons not to be backward, the present scandalous ferment in the county of Gloucester, and my willingness to shew that they were not words of course in the advertisement which has given so much offence to some, where I said, my services were bound to the King my master.

You see the Bishop of Bristol's sentiment on the matter. But he does not say that the King on this occasion disapproves of the addresses of the clergy, but that he did so on the birth of the Prince. However I told the Dean, I did not care to shew a courtly officiousness. You judge right of me, that, did I know the thing would be acceptable, I should not value the singularity of it, or the censures of my brethren. But such an inquiry of my friends above as you recommend, would have the air of that officiousness, which I would avoid. So I must even refer it back to you and the Dean's further thoughts, to whom I desire you would communicate this. If one *reputable* Bishop should lead the way, I should have no further hesitation.

I think Mr. Berkeley is cruelly used, both by his *friend* and his enemies. I lament and pity the present temper of the county of Gloucester,

and should be sorry to be involved in the censure it so much deserves.

I thank you for your kind inquiries about my arm. The surgeon's over care, and my lying in bed too long, with my hand motionless, has deprived me of the use of my wrist. I have applied many things of the same intention with a bullock's paunch. It is a little better, though but a little. If it does not mend faster very soon, I shall apply to what the physical people here esteem their sovereign remedy, the Bath-pump.

My wife is now in London, gone to consult Dr. Heberden and Dr. Leatherland, after finding no relief from the physicians here. If there be any aid in the profession, she will have it, for I believe Leatherland to be one of the greatest physicians in the world. They will determine her at least concerning her Spa expedition. All here are much yours, and none any where more than, my dear Sir, your most affectionate

And faithful humble servant,

W. GLOUCESTER.

Prior Park, Sept. 12, 1763.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have your obliging letter of the 9th.

I have been a little tour with Mr. Hurd to Winchester, to Lord Henley's at the Grange, (where, by the way, I forgot to thank him for young Rogers, but this is the common infirmity

of the world,) and to Weymouth; at which last place I staid but a week, and dared not venture to bathe on account of a dizziness, which disorder the ladies, when afflicted with it, more properly call a *giddiness*. How much have I envied those sculls of proof which neither a beam nor a backsword can disorder; while that paltry half-nonentity, the animal spirits, make a turmoil within mine. But as for my hand and wrist, I thank God, a quarter of a year's pumping has restored all of it but my thumb and fore-finger, to their wonted use.

If this contribution to the charity of the three choirs comes upon me only when it is held with us, pray tell Mr. Phillips he may do as my predecessors have done; otherwise these charitable contributions (unknown to my predecessors,) are now grown so numerous and heavy, that they are difficult to be sustained; and what is the worst circumstance of all, they are without merit; for though, in a philosophic sense, they may be what they are called *voluntary contributions*, as they are not demanded with a pistol at your throat, yet in a religious sense they are *given grudgingly and of necessity*. . . . . As to the affair of the Bath address, I will only say, that, whatever Mr. Allen does, he will always have the *right* and the *disposition* to say, with my true friend Pope,

"Welcome for thee, fair Virtue," &c.

You will take Mr. Allen's word that I had no

more hand in the address than you had; but so will not the miserable party-scribblers. I am sure nobody will take theirs, but when they abuse one another. I have been the subject of abuse on both sides. But I am (not grown, but made by nature and confirmed by innocence) *callous:* and amidst a long course of infinite abuse from secret and open enemies, for well-intended services in my profession, (in which not one injurious fact ever laid to my charge was *true*, nor one bad argument ever imputed to me has been *proved*,) I thank God, I never lost a night's sleep. If Mr. Allen cannot say this of his *callosity*, as he can of his innocence, why, then, in this thing alone I am his superior. In a letter I lately received from the Attorney, he tells me "in all my reading, I have never met with any thing to *parallel* with the present times." I said that, except the insults on a good King, and the unlimited rage of libels and slanders, which are indeed *unparalleled*, I thought the same wicked order of things was preserved that had been set a-going ever since the world began: the same boundless ambition, the same low avarice and corruption, and the same black spirit of revenge, in the great; and the same madness in persisting for ever to be the dupes of faction and party, in the people . . . . . .

Dear Sir, your most affectionate,
and faithful humble servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

Prior Park, Nov. 26, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

After so long a silence and uncertainty of your abode, I was extremely glad to hear of your health and return.

You judge perfectly right of Holwell's book; it is the most ignorant and most impertinent thing I ever saw. But such things are always to be expected of illiterate men, who, if *honest*, lose all the *nerves of the mind*, as Tully calls them, *(doubt and suspension of opinion,)* the further they travel: if *knaves*, lie in proportion to the length of their voyage, catching the infection from the Eastern nations of this vice, who have it as rooted in their constitutions as the Welch and Irish have the itch.

It is certain that not one nation of the East, from Persia to China, have a written book or Bible of their religion (and yet they all pretend to one of the highest antiquity); at least, older than the rise of Mahometanism. That of the Persians, particularly, (rendered the most famous amongst us in the West by the foolishest and weakest book ever written—that of Hyde,) was a late forgery, written in the first ages of the Saracen empire. You will ask why I say so? To omit the entire silence of the Greek writers concerning this book, who, in the flourishing times and in the decline of the Constantinopolitan empire, were as well acquainted with Persia as we are with France or

Germany ; to omit, I say, this negative proof, as convincing as it is, I have the best positive authority for the fact, the *venerable authority* of Mahomet himself, and his first commentators, who, dividing the religions he was acquainted with into those which were *religions of the book*, (i. e. such as had a Bible,) and those which were *not of the book*, they reckon Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism in the first class, and the Persian religion in the second. Now Mahomet was as well acquainted with Persia, both before and after he set up for a prophet, as he was with the country of the Lesser Asia, both of which he had subdued. The Persians were a great deal more tenacious of their old false religion than the Asiatic Christians were of the true, agreeably to the weakness and perversity of our nature ; they were, therefore, to support their cause the best they could against their conquerors ; and as the best support, in matters of opinion, is being in the fashion ; and (as) it was the established fashion amongst their neighbours of Lesser Asia and Arabia to have a Bible ; and the Alcoran then blazing out in all its splendour, being the military standard, as it were, of their conquerors ; they would have a Bible too, and so opposed, with additional strength, a *double* imposture to a *single* one. For though Mahomet was certainly the author of the Alcoran, yet Zoroaster was certainly not the author of the Bible which goes under his name.

You will acknowledge that zeal in general for a *persecuted* religion, and *therefore* the more obstinately adhered to, was sufficient to dispose the lying Eastern nations to forge what they thought would tend to strengthen and support their faith. What properer for this purpose than a Bible which pretends to high antiquity?

But there was more in the matter than this. Mahomet accused all the Eastern religions, particularly the Persian, of *idolatry;* and very justly. Christianity, and the new rise of Mahometanism, had, about this time, sufficiently discredited idolatry amongst the Eastern people; so that those who adhered to the religion of their forefathers in Persia and proper India, had nothing to do but to forge Bibles to remove this opprobrium from their national religions. They did so; and never were more bungling impostures than those defended, or rather whose truth is taken for granted, by the learned Hyde and the illiterate Holwell; for, with regard to what Hyde has produced from the pretended works of Zoroaster, I have carefully examined them, and they perpetually betray themselves by letting slip ideas with which the writer could be only furnished from the *Bible* and the *Alcoran*. Whenever these come to be considered, I believe there will be few (except such as Lowth, who could see no allusion in the Book of Job to the later times of the Jewish

republic,) who will not acknowledge the *original* of those ideas. . . . . .

I am, my dear Sir,
Your very affectionate and faithful
humble servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO ————.

SIR,

Amidst a general want of religious principle, as well as profligacy of manners, every step of the Legislature in which religion is supposed to be affected, alarms the people just as much as if, indeed, they had any real regard for it; which looks as if they thought they had the only right to treat it with contempt. The Jew Bill of late occasioned violent commotions; nor does the Sunday's exercise of the militia now threaten less.

You, who are no less vigilant and jealous of our religious than of our civil rights, will be ready to attend to any one, how obscure soever, whom you find ready to treat this subject in a candid and dispassionate manner. You are far from treating the scruples of religion as absurdities, because they are erroneous, or the dread of God's punishment for national crimes as a superstition, because men are apt to mistake his judgments; who, in a word, regard the rights of conscience amongst the most

sacred of those which civil society was ordained to secure.

To understand how well founded these alarms are on the present occasion, it will be necessary to consider the nature of the Sabbatical institution from whence the sanctity of the Lord's day is supposed to be derived.

The question is (which has been long agitated and tediously debated), whether the observation of the Sabbath was a natural or positive duty? If Scripture, by a prophet, and under the dictate of inspiration, has expressly decided this question, neither any consequential reasoning from the strict observance under the Jewish economy, nor any refined metaphysical reasoning *à priori*, are of any force to be opposed unto it.

Now the prophet Ezekiel, speaking to his countrymen in the name of God, says, "*Moreover also I gave them my* SABBATH, *to be a* SIGN *between me and them.*" * Now, a religious duty employed for a *sign*, or what is called in another place a *token of a covenant*, between God and a particular selected people, must needs be a *positive*, and not a *natural* observance; for, besides the use of such a *sign* for the *remembrance* of the covenant, it was to serve as a partition-wall to separate the Jews from other nations, which a *positive rite* was able to do, though used before or after, and borrowed

* C. xx. 12.

from or by other people; but it was impossible that a moral duty implanted in the minds of all men should serve for this purpose. Indeed, when a *sign* or *token* was employed only for the *remembrance* of a covenant, and nothing more, a *moral duty* or a *natural phenomenon* might be employed for that use, as in the case of the *rainbow* after the flood.

It is strange to think that so obvious and decisive an argument for the Sabbath's being a positive law should have been so long overlooked, or so little understood, as to make it still problematical in the declaration of those who seem least inclined to regard the Lord's day as a day of sabbatical rest.

But, I suppose, the reason given in the Tables of Stone for God's blessing or hallowing the seventh day, namely, because on that day God rested from his work of creation, hath made men conclude it to be a natural duty; whereas this revelation of God's sanctifying the seventh day was plainly to impress the Israelites with a greater reverence of the sabbatic rest. But this is not all: the very act of sanctification implies a *positive duty*, in which act nothing is either seen or declared of a necessary or natural connexion between God's rest and man's.

Had the sabbatarian interpretation of this sanctification of the seventh day been the true, it must have followed it must have been observed by the

people of God from the creation to the giving of the Law. And so, indeed, the sabbatarians say it was; but they say it gratuitously, and, what is worse, falsely. I say first gratuitously—the entire silence contrary to that other ordinance of Moses, Circumcision. Secondly, falsely; for sacred Scripture, ever consistent with itself, says the direct contrary; and the Word of God, by the Prophet Ezekiel, is confirmed by the words of Jesus, as they came from his own mouth. The Jews having charged Jesus as a transgressor of the Law of Moses for having cured a man on the Sabbath day, he thus expostulates with his accusers:—"Moses gave unto you Circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers; and ye on the Sabbath day circumcise a man. If a man on the Sabbath day receive Circumcision that the Law of Moses should not be broken, are ye angry with me because I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day?" &c.* (p. 308, vol. ii. D. L.) This being the sense of this important parenthesis, "*not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers*," the reasoning implies that the sabbatic rest was given by Moses originally, and not like Circumcision, "*because it was of the Fathers*," before his institution; because, according to this reasoning of Jesus, had the sabbatic rest been an observance of the Fathers at the time Circumcision on the eighth

* John, vii. 22, &c.

day was enjoined to Abraham and his race, it would have been conditionally that the eighth day did not fall on the Sabbath.

All this appears to be the sense of the primitive Church, who changed this solemn day of religious service from the seventh to the first day.* . . . . . .

* The MS. is here unfortunately deficient.

BISHOP WARBURTON'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE PROSECUTION OF MR. WILKES.*

My Lords,

Being made a party to this prosecution, till your lordships had come to some determination, I thought it most decent to keep silent.

But now, the duty I owe to this House, and the reverence every honest man owes to his own character, whose just boast it is, *nullâ pallescere culpâ*, force me to beg your lordships' indulgence for a few moments.

It is with great concern apprehended, I say, that some noble lords, distinguished for their honour and virtue both in public and private life, have appeared not unwilling, as opportunity offered, to soften the edge of justice on this occasion. Their *arguments* I shall leave with all their weight; their *motives*, I am sure, did not want the due share of generosity and honour. But I apprehend there may be a prejudice which will deserve to be examined. It is founded, I suppose, in a certain suspicion that the pure love of virtue and religion, unmixed with the intrigues and resentments of ministers of state, did not set this prosecution on foot.

Now, not to insist on so uncandid a suspicion,

* See page 226.

where the crime is so very enormous, let us for a moment suppose that the prosecution was not quite free from the mixture objected to it; I would beg leave to ask those noble lords (so well acquainted with the history of ancient and modern times) whether they have ever found, throughout the whole story of mankind, any great and general good obtained, or any enormous evil suppressed, where human passions did not mix themselves with the work of that reformer.

Was the Great Charter obtained and secured by disinterested patriots, out of pure love to the people's liberties? Your lordships best know that it was wrested from the Crown by a factious, turbulent, and ambitious Baronage, into whose hearts the love of the people never entered, in order to share the sovereign power with their master.

Was the avarice, the usurpation, and the superstition of the Church of Rome overturned on that virtuous principle, the vindication of the rights of mankind? Do we not all know that that dreadful enchantment, which had for so many ages bound up the intellects of a whole people, was broken and dissolved by the rapine, the pride, and the luxurious passions of a single man?

To descend from generals to particulars. These latter times have seen, on different occasions, the highest magistrates of justice exemplarily arraigned and punished for gross corruption in the

execution of their office: but who is so ignorant as not to know that those salutary prosecutions owed their birth to the displeasure and resentments of favourites and ministers of state?

Alas! were we to stay for reformation till pure virtue set reformers on work, we must wait for the return of that Platonic vision, when virtue is to appear, in all her blaze of charms, in person.

Surely, it is enough for us that, in the present case, virtue's most august, most spotless representative, has directed this offender to be brought to justice.

If the prosecution has not escaped censure, the prosecutor, we may be sure, would be less covertly attacked. A noble lord, when this affair was last in agitation, told a story, and seemed to recommend it as worthy to have been followed in the present case. As his lordship was pleased to represent it, it was this. A tract of Servetus fell into the hands of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, and he chose rather to suppress than to prosecute it.

Let us examine, then, the pretended likeness in the two cases.

1. Servetus had been dead near 200 years: so here was no offender to be found. And this is all the likeness under the first head.

2. Again: Servetus had, unhappily, entertained some theologic tenets which the Church justly terms heresy: and for these he was most cruelly and iniquitously burnt at Geneva. But Servetus

was serious, was virtuous, was a scholar: Mr. Wilkes, you all know, to be a buffoon without wit, and a debauchee without delicacy, and a fine gentleman (as I think they call them) without letters. His performances were suitable to his character and talents. They consisted of the most horrid insults on religion, virtue and humanity, and the most shocking blasphemies against the Almighty; which would have subjected him to the faggot, not only in the little state of Geneva, but in every country on the globe (where a God and Providence is confessed) from Calais to Japan. And this is all the likeness under the second head.

3. Again: none of the followers of Servetus had the insolence to put Dr. Gibson's name to a number of notes supporting their master's impieties: but Mr. Wilkes has taken the liberty to put Dr. Warburton's name to a series of notes, which countenance and even outdo the beastiality and blasphemy of his doggrel. And this is all the similitude I can find under the third.

On the whole, then, I suppose your lordships will be ready to agree with me, that in the case of Servetus the Bishop of Gloucester would have done as the Bishop of London did; and that in the case of Mr. Wilkes the Bishop of London would have acted as the Bishop of Gloucester has done.

To conclude: I have, my lords, given my name to this prosecution out of a pure sense of my duty to God and the king. In this my private resent-

ments had no share. Yet for this I have been further calumniated and outraged in the most villanous and diabolic manner.

As to enemies of a better rank (if this prosecution has raised up any such against me), virtue whispers me—*tu contra audentior ito;* and as to the natural movements to revenge and vengeance for the calumnies and villanies of cut-throat libellers, I offer them all up at the sacred shrine of religion.

SPOKEN IN THE HOUSE NOV. 15, 1763.

My Lords,

I beg your lordships' indulgence for a few words: the noble lord who has just ended has not left room for many. And this liberty I shall rarely ask, but when it would be a shame and a dishonour to keep silent.

My lords, the life and health which Providence has been graciously pleased to bestow upon me, have been all employed (and I hope neither unfruitfully nor ingloriously) in the service of religion. In defending Revelation, and the established church of this land, against the rude attacks of ribald writers of all denominations, atheists, deists, libertines, freethinkers, bigots, and fanatics; and what is the accumulation of all that is execrable in one—political scribblers of all sides and parties—

the trumpeters, the incendiaries of sedition and confusion.

These services, my lords, have brought down upon me a fierce and dirty torrent of abuse and slander from all quarters. In which, however, not one opprobrious fact ever imputed to my life (if any such have been imputed) was true; nor one fallacious argument ever imputed to my writings has been proved: so that my usual revenge was silence and contempt.

This is the first time, my lords, that I ever applied to public justice for assistance; not for myself or my writings, for while I have the hydra infidelity at my feet, I can well bear with its hisses; nor yet for this reverend bench, though I know how severely they feel for every insult offered to religion: no, my lords, it is for religion itself—for civil society; yea, even for our common humanity; all most audaciously insulted by this man.

And how insulted? With the arms of a gentleman and a scholar—with wit or with argument?—for these have been too often abused and misapplied in support of irreligion and impiety. No, my lords, nor with the arms even of a man, or of one who appears to bear any relation to the human species; but with such arms as the demons of lust and blasphemy might be supposed to use when let loose to blot the fair face of day and nature.

But I injure these elder sons of perdition by my

comparison; for let the most poetical imagination set himself on work to conceive how

"Devils with devils damn'd hold converse,"

and when he had put his fancy on the rack, he would still find himself infinitely short of the horrors of these portentous parodies; which, if suffered to go unpunished, not an hundred acts of national humiliation would be sufficient to expiate and atone; in which there is so foul a mixture of bestiality interlarding his fearful blasphemies, that the hardiest inhabitant of hell would *blush* as well as *tremble* to hear repeated.

PART IV.

I. Fragments of a Discourse on History, illustrated from Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

II. Thoughts on various subjects:

1. Theological.
2. Critical and Miscellaneous.

FRAGMENTS OF A DISCOURSE ON HISTORY,

ILLUSTRATED FROM THAT OF LORD CLARENDON.

I design this discourse for a short Essay upon History, and shall illustrate the common rules of it by examples drawn from the Lord Clarendon's incomparable History of the Rebellion, which will help to explain very many of the rules, expose the falseness of others, and give me the opportunity of attempting, the first, a Critique of that wonderful performance. The Histories of Greece and Rome have been the common theme of almost all writers, while this of our own, superior to the best of theirs (as I doubt not to make appear), has been only admired in the gross, without any particular examination.

The three great requisites in an historian are: 1. A perfect knowledge of the facts he represents; 2. Honesty in representing them truly; and, 3. Abilities to represent them advantageously. We shall consider this noble writer in these three views, and shew how greatly he excelled in each.

Few things in the English tongue before this last age, were worthy any criticism. But it can now boast of productions equal to Greece or Rome; and why they do not deserve the same notice, I see

no reason. A great genius lately deceased led the way, of whom it may be truly said,

—— quem tu, Dea, tempore in omni
Omnibus, &c.

As it would be the highest presumption to attempt to equal him, so it would be the greatest folly not to endeavour to imitate him.

The order of time in an history may be well transgressed, nay, ought to be so, to preserve the narrations entire. A remarkable instance of this conduct is in Tacitus' History, where he defers to speak of the German tumults, which happened to be hot during the Civil Wars of Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian; till he had dispatched the Civil Wars, and then treats of them without interruption through the greater part of the fourth Book.

An historian who writes of past ages ought not implicitly to sit down with the reasons former writers give for things, but examine them, and prove their truth or falsehood. An instance of this in Tacitus. He tells us the generality of writers that went before him ascribed Tiberius's departure from the city to the wiles of Sejanus. Now this accurate writer doubts this; for this very good reason, because he staid there after his death. —Now this distinguishes an historian from a mere compiler.

When . . . . . * brought in the Bill against

* Sic in MS.

Episcopacy, the historian telling you he did it chiefly for the sake of applying that verse of Ovid.*

* * * * *

lets you into his character as well as a whole page could have done on that subject.

The character of a finished courtier is touched with the utmost art in this part of E. H. "He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the Duke (the reigning favourite) and to his confidence, and wisely declined the receiving any grace or favour, but as his donation," &c.

What strength, what boldness of colouring is there in this portraiture of L. C.: "His cardinal perfection was industry, and his most eminent infirmity covetousness."

The beauties of great characters of the ancients consist chiefly in the agreeable surprise of the turn: 'tis antithesis and contrast. Many of Clarendon's are more natural and consequently more successful, as they let us better into his character: 'tis some peculiarity of humour, &c. The same reason that furnishes our state with such variety of characters above any other nation, makes our historian superior to any other in this article.

C. by telling us the Earl of Arundel affected

* Sic in MS.

to wear the habit of heroes and great men amongst the ancients, gives us the best idea possible of that great man's romantic temper.

It certainly requires the deepest penetration into human nature to characterise justly. Our author had that knowledge almost above the rest of mankind, and has therefore excelled all mankind in this particular.

I cannot agree with Rapin, that a man's actions give us his best character. Besides, men very often act so inconsistently with themselves, that a reader is often at a loss to know, which part of his behaviour is the result of his natural temper, and which of some particular view he has at that time to serve,—which action is out of choice, and which of necessity. But his character is a better index to his behaviour than his face is to his mind: it conducts us clearly through all the windings and turnings of a restless ambition, irregular caprice, and designing politics. Besides this, it raises and enlivens history; it softens the dryness of the relation, and smoothes the severity of reflections, and introduces a digression with the best grace imaginable. It is necessary they should be short and expressive, that the reader may take the whole resemblance at a view; but if they be drawn to a great length they are weakened, and the reader rather confounded than informed.

Speaking of the Lord Digby, he says, the temper and composition of his mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes, for which he thought himself not accountable.

Character of the King's horse in the West, whom only their friends feared and their enemies laughed at, being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away.

An historian ought certainly to be free from all partiality, and he must be in the exact temper of mind that Sallust in Cæsar's speech recommends to a councillor of state; but he certainly is not obliged, as Rapin imagines, to stand neuter between two contending parties; that is an extreme as pernicious, perhaps, as the opposite. It is the duty of an historian to stigmatize ill actions, and commend the good; as well to do justice to both as to direct and inform the judgment of his reader.

To the person of Lord Clarendon: — In the beginning of the Long Parliament, out of his sense of the many extravagant acts of power in the Crown, he appeared a resolute patriot, by

espousing the liberties of his country; was one that brought in the impeachment of the Judges, and was a manager against the High Commission Court at York. Yet when the E. of S. was prosecuted, he, out of a just sense of the injustice practised against that noble lord, was a strenuous advocate for him, to his eternal honour dissented from his fast friend the L. F. in the business of the Bishops' votes, and proved a glorious advocate for their order. This made him be first taken notice of at Court, which he ever after served with the utmost fidelity. He bore his banishment with the royal fugitive with the greatest constancy, and on his restoration was advanced to the highest dignity, and bore his prosperity with as much moderatioh as he did his adversity with constancy. To him we in a great measure owe the liberty we now enjoy, which, with opposing some other extravagancies of the most corrupted Court of that age, brought his ruin upon him. He died in a glorious banishment.

His abilities :—He had a mind bright, solid and penetrating, which not only gives his subject all the nerves and strength imaginable, but gives it all the delicacy and politeness such a subject was capable of receiving. It was owing to his great penetration that he draws out every thing to so uncommon a length.

"When a full prospect was taken of the hopes, &c. all that occurred appeared so hopeless," &c. An inaccuracy. (742.)

Keen satire:—"The General only excepted, who thought himself a Presbyterian." (747.)

L. C. very exact in his chronology.—Orations give history a very romantic air.

The account of Lord Digby's negotiation, from his leaving Ireland to his arrival the second time at Jersey, is the most agreeable, lively, and spirited imaginable. How well is that Lord's singular temper displayed! How easy he was to be imposed on, and happy in the deceit, is represented with the greatest art. (13.)

How easy is the transition from the Prince's affairs in 14 to the King's, &c.!

He (L. C.) had a sagacity of judgment, a dexterity of discernment, and had perfectly studied the humours of the most capricious people in the world.

The great fruitfulness of his imagination often makes him run out in pursuit of several things that the object presents to his view before he has finished the point he is treating of, and consequently makes his sentences very long and perplexing, which puts us to a great deal of trouble to sort and distinguish each part of them. An instance relating to Montreuil. (16.)

He never makes use of figures in the relation of

facts, but only in his reflections on them. In the first it would appear too romantic, and as if he had a design on the reader. But here his discreet use of them is highly necessary to convey them with the greatest advantage to the reader, and where no ill use can possibly be made of them.

The transitions are all natural, easy, and regular.

His indirect speeches and opinions are the most unornamented part of the work, and consequently the most just and natural.

His transitions are so very natural that you do not seem to remove from one place to another, but that they offer themselves to view necessarily; so that always the subject he passes from conducts him to that he comes to; *that* seems to be exhausted, and *this* to require to be treated of. In short, they are so very happily contrived, that the subject you leave generally receives light from that you enter upon, and the present shows you the nature of the past.

He says Sir J. Berkeley had a friend at Paris that governed and loved him better than any body else did (53), and subjoins,—"he that loved him best was very willing to be without him."

We are no longer surprised that his Majesty's escape from Hampton Court was so unsuccessful, when he told us before that the two persons who

conducted him were of different parties and principles. This, too, was the reason that (54) their acquaintance with the officers lay very different: seldom conferring with the same men:—which, he says, was the reason that their informations were very different, and more perplexed than informed his Majesty. (55.)

He penetrates into the most hidden motives of actions, and clears up and explicates all the mysterious management of the Independents and Presbyterians of both nations; for instance, the different circumventing artifices the Parliament and Army had while the King was with the latter. (55, 56.)

Speaking of the Members, &c. (64).—"And they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss who had prospered so much in all their undertakings."

The causes and hidden springs of action are so well laid open and illustrated by circumstances, both of things and persons, that the event of all those surprising changes and revolutions seem even the necessary, unavoidable consequences of them. So that I never saw a history so full of important variety so well cleared up and laid open.

It appears from a passage in the 70th p. 3d pt. that Clarendon began his History in Jersey, whither he went out of the West.

Variety of metaphors is faulty and injudicious, and the carrying only one throughout an observation of any length seldom escapes being formal and pedantic. The first fault he was too judicious to commit, and the other inconvenience the happiness of his manner prevented.

(See 74th p., 3d pt.—Reflections in Oxford.)

Sometimes a quick variety of metaphors is highly beautiful, as where two different reasons are offered for a thing, as, speaking of the rise of the Levellers, he says,—"Whether the raising this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, or whether it grew up amongst those tares that had been sown in that confusion." (76.) This is wonderfully fine, and the change of metaphors the justest imaginable for *design* and *chance*.

C. Whalley (he says) offered great violence to his nature when he appeared to offer any civility and good manners.

In his relation of unexpected occurrences he gives you it of a sudden, with all the agreeable surprise imaginable, and afterwards lets you into the secret of it. By this means you are impatient to know the causes, and read them with uncommon delight and satisfaction. But if he was to lead you step by step regularly through, the surprise would not thus be lost, but you would be

tired before you got through; as the King's escape from Hampton Court.

The reflections upon the behaviour of those who conducted the King from Hampton Court seems the longest on any single action in the whole History, though no more than necessary, if we consider the surprising darkness of that adventure.

Cromwell and Ireton showing greater respect to Ashburnham than Berkeley, the latter thought it evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them. This short reflection lets one very well into his character.

L. Clarendon might make the same apology for the mention of rival great men in his last vol. that Paterculus does in the latter end of C. 116, l. 2.

An exact imitation of the Sallustian brevity,— "Primo igitur paucos, mox plures," &c. (C. 118.)

It might be justly said of Sallust and L. Clarendon, as it was of Cicero and Demosthenes, that there could be nothing taken from the one nor added to the other.

The drowsy dull Presbyterian humour of Fairfax, who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass. (86.)

To speak of a man's self is a nice and difficult subject. It grates his own heart to say anything of disparagement, and the reader's ears to hear anything of praise from him (says Mr. Cowley). Lord Clarendon does it with all the good grace and modesty in the world, and has been so particularly nice in his conduct in this point, that where a recital of his actions would have won him the affection of all good men, if it has not an immediate relation to his History he is very careful to pass them over in silence; witness his not mentioning the noble answer he wrote against no more addresses, when he had so proper an opportunity of doing it. (p. 95.)

An instance of L. C.'s penetration and great judgment is, passing lightly over the little private jangles between the tyrants and usurpers that could not at all influence the main subject. (Vide 4to Hist. p. 1.)

The subjects of L. Cl. and Thucydides are much alike. But if, as Dion. Halic. observes, Thuc. was injudicious in choosing a subject that ended so unfortunately, our historian has been more considerate in concluding his with the Restoration.

If L. C. be negligent in grammar he only imitates his great master Thucyd., who tramples upon the common rules of grammar, provided he can

thereby exalt his expression, and add more heat and vehemence to his discourse.

"Ne quid veri non audeat, ne quid falsi audeat." Whether an historian is obliged to speak the whole truth? Yes.

Those pretenders to the knowledge of human nature, * * * Hobbes and Rochefaucault, ascribe all actions to selfish or wicked motives; but L. C., who had a thorough insight into it, gives true causes.

The death of Secretary Nicholas weakened L. C.'s authority, as the death of Burrhus weakened Seneca's: "Quia nec bonis artibus idem virium erat, altero velut duce amoto, et Nero ad deteriores inclinabat." (Ann. l. xiv. § 52.)

L. Cl. going off, justified by the like behaviour of Themistocles, who, when unjustly accused by the Laced., went to the Persians.

In the account L. C. gives of the Duke of Buckingham, there are several things very conducive to having a just idea of affairs at that time; yet it must be confessed there are several others that can be only justifiable in an historian who undertook to write the Duke's life; particularly the story of the apparition—very fine in itself, but here improperly inserted.

But though, as I observed, the fine story of the apparition be here faultily inserted, yet the address with which he introduces it is admirable: "There were many stories," says he, "scattered abroad at that time of several prophecies and predictions of the Duke's untimely and violent death." Now, what can be more artful? So much to say was necessary for understanding the temper of the nation relating to him; and he takes this opportunity to introduce the story, hoping, as it were, by this address to cover the impropriety, and that the reader would not find it out.

The greatest imperfection, perhaps, in L. C.'s nature, was looking with too much veneration on courts. This makes him speak with such reverence of D. Buckingham, and not brand those two most flagrant acts of entering into the two wars, with that historic justice that an impartial writer should always practise. That greatness and candour of mind, that generosity, affability, and courtesy that the noble author celebrates in the Duke, was really an aggravation of his crime; for he acknowledges that he put off all his felicity of nature to do one of the worst acts imaginable—the creating a misunderstanding between the King and Queen. (p. 39.) Indeed, in the conclusion of this account, he palliates the thing by observing, that if he had lived he might have retrieved his miscarriages: but it is observable, he gives no reasons for that

opinion further than that his miscarriages were the effects of youthful temper, which age might correct, not that he appeared in his disposition sensible of them, and inclined to reform them.

Under his (L. C.'s) freedom of writing is couched the exactest method; so in the conclusion of the digression relative to the Duke of Buckingham, he thus expresses himself;—"This digression is much longer than it was intended:" words that show he had chalked out the method with exactness.

"After that bright star was shot out of the horizon." What beauty and strength in this metaphor! how well does it describe his sudden fall!

From the 3rd to the 67th page, which the noble author divides into two or three digressions, is an Introduction to the History of the Rebellion, and takes up the greatest part of the first book.

"Nor had his successors for some time after him much better fortune," (p. 46,)—having himself certainly in view.

What can be juster than what he says is the only justifiable end of eloquence, the making one's self believed (p. 47); that is, to persuade the audience you are sincere.

Amongst the most artful, penetrating characters of the first [book] are Sir Thomas Coventry's and Treasurer Weston's, the beautiful contrast of which characters is very remarkable; as the most shining are, the Earl of Arundel and Secretary Coke. Cardinal de Retz's observation exactly just, that delighting in trifling singularities is always an argument of a little mind and low genius. L. C. saw that illustrated in Arundel, where he says his nature and true humour disposed him to delights that were childish and despicable.

He could not with modesty speak of the nature of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, where he speaks of his own advancement to it; he therefore does it very artfully in the character of Treasurer Weston (p. 48.)

The story of Sir Julius Cæsar, how beautiful soever, is faulty in the same regard as that of the apparition, for this is involving one digression within another: as likewise the story of Sandford's prognostication of the Earl of Pembroke's death.

E. of Carlisle's manner of dying like Petronius's. (p. 62. v. i.)

The disposition of the Introduction is not so natural and exact as could be wished; for, instead

of continuing the thread of the discourse, it is divided into several distinct digressions.

Great judgment in Lord Clarendon, where, in the 68th page, vol. i. speaking of the illegality of impositions, and mentioning Mr. Hambden in the business of ship-money, he does not stop here to give his character.

Observable, that where L. C. speaks of the illegality of the Court proceedings, he does not so much declaim against the wickedness and injustice of them as shew the folly, fruitlessness and inconvenience to the ends intended. For this work being for the information of the Crown chiefly, in future ages, he knew that they might be sooner restrained from an imitation by the ill consequences than by the injustice: and we must always have this end of L. C.'s writing for the information of the Crown in view, to judge rightly of this immortal work. When one writes for the information of the people, the best way is to press upon the justice and injustice of an action; when to the Prince, the convenience and inconvenience. This must be the key to L. C.'s history.—Unskilful men, not reflecting upon this, had made them condemn L. C. of partiality to the Court, of which no historian was ever more free. This is a refutation of what Mr. Le Clerc particularly ob-

jects, p. 61 of 2nd part of his account; for the office of the historian and moralist are different. The moralist, by his office, is to enlarge on the good or ill abstractedly of an action. But the historian must set it in such a light as may best recommend it or discommend it, and if the convenience and inconvenience will more readily do that than the good or ill of it, he must lay the stress there.

L. C. says of Noy, p. 73: "Court made no change in his mind; in his manners it did."—A much finer instance of penetration into men's natures, than the "alieni appetens, sui profusus," ofSallust.

L. C. is very successful, and delights much in beautifully contrasting his characters; as Sir Thomas Coventry and Weston, Noy and Finch, &c.

His description of the happiness of the kingdom, beginning in the 74th page, most admirably beautiful. N. B. The style, as much as the difference of subjects will allow, the same with his History.

The survey of the Leviathan has discovered how ridiculous a thing speculative politics is, when it comes to be examined by a minister long

versed in the intrigues of state; and had L. C. been so fortunate as to have seen thoroughly into the original of Government, or the times given him liberty to have owned some conclusions publicly, he would still have had a greater advantage over Hobbes: for from those very principles (so many of Mr. Hobbes's as were true, and some very extraordinary ones doubtless there were,) he might have shewn how they necessarily produced other opposite conclusions.

L. C. discovers very clearly and profoundly Mr. Hobbes's exceeding gross ignorance in history and laws, and proves his motives in writing his book were little, base, and infamous; no other than, by flattering that most unnatural usurpation of Cromwell, to be received under his protection.

There is always great art in an historian, where he can serve two ends at once. An instance in the story of the King's inclosing a park for red deer, at the latter end of Lord Clarendon's 1st book, which shews the Archbishop's temper, and gives one of the causes of the people's murmurs, &c. Now, did this only shew the Archbishop's temper, and not conduce to the knowledge of higher things, it had been faulty.

A most beautiful metaphor, speaking of the

Scots:—"The monument of their presumption, and their shame, would have been raised together, and no other memory preserved of their rebellion, but in their memorable overthrow." (vol. i. p. 113.)

Of an association:—"The Scots took it to a man, without grieving their conscience or reforming their manners." (vol. i. p. 117.)

It is to be observed, that a particular strain of enmity and contempt of the Scots, runs through his whole History. He had reason for it. What he says of the Earl of Essex, may be applied to himself. "Between a hatred and contempt of the Scots, he had nothing like an affection for any man of that nation." Thus again, see p. 145, v. i.

So he says, "the Duke of Lennox was not at all a Scotsman, but had the manners and affections of an Englishman." V. i. p. 122. Another instance of this prejudice is, the case of Duke Hamilton, who certainly was not false.

Secretary Coke, at fourscore, for whom nobody cared, being made a sacrifice for the first infamous peace made with the Scots, puts one in mind of that pleasant story Butler tells of the weaver, that lay bed-rid in the plantations.

L. C. very remarkably avoids a fault that Dion.

Halicar. objects to Theopompus, (in his discourse of the Greek Hist. to Pompey,) "Quod si in iis in quibus summum studium posuit, collisionem vocalium, et numerosas circumscriptiones ac figuras similes neglexisset, longè melior in elocutione se ipso evasisset."

Mr. Bayle judged of this well, when he said. "Il y a sans doute je ne sçais quelle petitesse dans ces sortes d'affectations, lorsque la grandeur du sujet doit attirer toute l'attention de l'écrivain;" for, as Menage says, on a not unlike occasion, a polished Colossus would be ridiculous; the beauty of it consists in its just proportions.

L. C. so fully explaining all the concurrent causes of the Rebellion, not only sufficient to overturn a kingdom, but a world;—this sets him above all other historians.

THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

I. THEOLOGICAL.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM BISHOP WARBURTON TO MR. MILLAR.*

Feb. 7th, 1757.

SIR,

I supposed you would be glad to know what sort of book it is which you are about to publish with Hume's name and yours to it. The design of the first essay is the very same with all Lord Bolingbroke's, to establish *naturalism*, a species of atheism, instead of religion; and he employs one of Bolingbroke's capital arguments for it. All the difference is, it is without Bolingbroke's abusive language.

All the good his mutilation and fitting it up for the public has done, is only to add to its other follies that of contradiction. He is establishing atheism;

* This Letter is inserted here on account of its connexion with the subject of the succeeding article.

and in one single line of a long essay professes to believe Christianity. All this I shall show in a very few words on a proper occasion.

In the mean time, if you think you have not money enough, and can satisfy your conscience, you will do well to publish it; for there is no doubt of the sale among a people so feverish, that to-day they burn with superstition, and to-morrow freeze with atheism. But the day of the publication and the *fast day* will be an admirable contrast to one another.

I dare say you knew nothing of the contents; but the caution of poor Mr. K. was admirable on the like occasion with this very man, Hume. He wrote to Mr. K. to offer him a copy, that had nothing to do with religion, as he said. Mr. K. replied, that might be; but as he had given great offence, and he (Mr. K.) was himself no judge of these matters, he desired to be excused.

You have often told me of this man's moral virtues. He may have many, for aught I know; but let me observe to you, there are vices of the *mind* as well as of the *body:* and I think a wickeder mind, and more obstinately bent on public mischief, I never knew.

W. W.

A late writer, who entitles his book Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding, printed for A. Millar, 1748, has a Discourse on Miracles, in which he endeavours to show that there is no probable evidence of the truth of such facts. His reasoning is summed up in what he calls "a general *maxim* worthy our attention, that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be *more miraculous* than the fact which it endeavours to establish; and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior." (p. 182.)

Now, to pass at present the jargon of his *more miraculous*, and to suppose he may mean a testimony whose falsehood implies a miracle, I answer, that in order to render the miraculous fact related the object of our belief, it is not necessary that the falsehood of the relator should imply a miracle; and for this plain reason, because that testimony whose falsheood implies a miracle makes the fact attested not *credible*, but *certain*; for the falsehood of no testimony but the *testimony of sense* implies a miracle. Now, what the senses inform us of we call certain. If they deceive us, it must be by God's altering the established order of things, which this author agrees to be a true definition of a miracle; so that

we see he mistakes the very nature of the evidence in question. But would you know why he uses his nonsense of *more miraculous*, instead of *miraculous*, it is to insinuate that *even the evidence of sense* is no sufficient proof of a miracle; for he confesses that the degree of evidence, in the case here put, is only the *remains* of his *more miraculous*, when the quantity in his *less miraculous* has been *deducted*; so that if the falsehood of the testimony and the fact testified were equally miraculous, from thence, we see, no proof would arise; i. e. we ought not to own the truth of a miraculous fact when it makes its appeal to the senses. But if this man's reasoning cannot verify his own maxim, his passions will at least verify that of our Heavenly Master, who long ago pronounced that "He who will not believe Moses and the Prophets will not believe though one arose from the dead."

But the unhappy man would exclude all miracles, because at all hazards he will exclude Christianity, as appears from another of his maxims, for he is not a dealer in small truths: "We may establish it as a maxim (says he), that no human testimony can have such force as to prove a miracle, and make it a just foundation for any *such* system of religion," (p. 199;) i. e. no possible proof can be given of miracles to establish any revelation or popular religion, as he just before expresses it; for he himself, forsooth, is of the religion of the philosophers. Yet, when he has said this, with an

impartiality becoming the most *moral* of his tribe, he adds the following corrective; that in miracles, where religion has nothing to do, we may safely believe a miracle: If (says he) all authors agree that from 1st Jan. 1600 there was a total darkness over the whole earth for eight days, it is evident our present philosophers ought to receive it for a certain fact; but, should all the historians who treat of England agree that 1st Jan. 1600 Queen Elizabeth died, (who here, you are to observe, stands for Christ,) that she afterwards rose again, took possession of the throne, and governed publicly for three years, this you are to reject as an arrant fable. (pp. 199, 200.) His spite, we see, is not against miracles, but only against the workers of them; for why, I pray you, are we to make this distinction? Are not the two facts equally attested by the concurrent evidence of all concerned? Are they not equally miraculous? for the absence of the sun eight days together from the globe of the earth is surely as *contrary* to the common course of nature as the resurrection of one from the dead. If he believes that, from the beginning, none ever rose from the dead, he believes, too, that there never was a total darkness for eight days together. Here, then, the *uniform experience*, as he calls it, is, in both cases, the same; yet we must believe the one, and not the other. Here spoke the true sense, as well as spirit, of modern infidelity;—we must reject *that* miracle, for whose working, by the inter-

position of God, we *can* give a reasonable account, and embrace that for which there is *no account to be given at all.* But this circumstance of the *cause* of working the miracles recorded in Scripture, so worthy the exertion of the Divine power, is always, either for want of sense or honesty, omitted by this author, when he comes to balance what he calls his opposed proofs, on which all his jargon turns. And well would it be for our *moral philosopher* if this was the only one omitted; but every collateral circumstance that affords internal evidence of the truth of the Evangelic testimony, such as the state of the world that follows, and which must have been that very state consequent on miracles, had miracles been really performed; such again as the accomplishment of predictions recorded in books, as well known to be written after the facts, as that Julius Cæsar's Commentaries was written before the time of Henry VIII.;—none of these, I say, are ever brought into the balance of this fair accountant. Very suitably, therefore, is his reasoning supported on each hand, and of a piece with the modesty of his *introduction* and the decency of his *conclusion.*

Thus he begins:—"I flatter myself that I have *discovered* an argument, which, if just, will with the wise and learned be an *everlasting check* to all kinds of superstitious delusion, and, consequently, will be *useful as long as the world endures.*" (p. 174.) Thus he ends:—"Mere reason is insufficient to

convince us of the veracity of the Christian religion; and whoever is moved by *faith* to assent to it, is conscious of a continued *miracle* in his own person, which *subverts all the principles of his understanding*, and gives him a demonstration to believe what is most contrary to custom and experience." (p. 203.)

Who, after this, will scruple to own that *freedom of thinking* is the source of our greatest blessings, and that the liberty of the press is the only means of conveying and preserving them pure and unpolluted to our posterity ! ! !

The Unity of the Godhead may be proved from his necessary existence, thus:—Necessary existence implies the supposition of the possibility of his non-existence to be absurd. It follows that such a Being must be infinite; for if you can suppose Him as not existing in any one place you may suppose Him as not existing in any other, and consequently as not existing at all, contrary to the position of necessary existence. This Being, then, is infinite; but to positive infinitude nothing can be added: yet the supposal of another necessarily existent Being is adding to infinitude; therefore there is no other. The Deity, then, is one.

Transubstantiation and Passive Obedience are the two capital absurdities of religion and government. When these have once got possession of great

masters of reasoning, who are the openest to conviction, their pride will not suffer them, when they come to the knowledge of the truth, to give that honour to *reason*, because it might be said, why was it so slow in its operations? but rather choose to give the credit to *authority*, which, besides the air of modesty which so well befits those just escaped from the chains of error, saves their reputa on as we may suppose a docility on the first acquaintance. Thus Ridley gave the honour of his conversion from Transubstantiation to Bertram's discourse on that subject; and the elder Sherlock his from Passive Obedience to Bishop Overall's Convocation Book.

Mahometanism was first propagated through the west of Asia by fire and sword. Christianity was propagated through the same countries by the foolishness of preaching, and the gentle arts of persuasion. When both religions were well established in their several quarters, then Mahometanism under the caliph Haroun al-Raschid propagated itself without force in India, and Christianity, under Charlemagne, contemporary with that caliph, was forced upon the Saxons by the power of the sword in Germany. Who does not see the hand of God in the religion of the Nazarite, and the hand of man only in that of the Arab, as well, at those different times, in the circumstance of force, as in the circumstance of persuasion? But this matter

needs much explanation; the soft and nerveless nature of the Indians easily takes an impression; the rough manners of the barbarous Saxons abhorred a change.

We are apt to ascribe that to fanaticism which is the effect of sober sense. Every reformer under Edward VI. was shocked at the name of *altar;* and with reason. Who scruples to call it so now? When Brutus had just killed Cæsar, and had proclaimed his shows as Prætor, the month, instead of Quintilis, was styled July, by mistake of his agents, which greatly disturbed Brutus, and with reason; yet who, the most devoted to liberty, under the Emperors, would then scruple it?

The false modesty of the insignificance of such a being as man, has always encouraged modern unbelievers to call in question the moral government of God. To this topic the D. of Marlborough (who, without doubt, had often heard it urged in the licentious court in which he had been brought up,) evidently alludes, when he says to the Duchess, in his Letter of Aug. 26, 1709,—"I cannot help being of opinion, that, *however insignificant we may be*, there is a Power above that puts a period to our happiness or unhappiness. If any body had told me eight years ago, that, after such great success, and after you had been a faithful servant twenty-seven years,—that ever in the

Queen's lifetime we should be obliged to seek happiness in a retired life, I could not have believed that possible."

THE ART OF LYING UNDER COVER OF THE TRUTH.

The Histories of the Reformation tell us, particularly Burnet, that in the first Convocation under Mary, Weston, Dean of Westminster, Prolocutor, said to the Protestant members, "*You have the word, but we have the sword.*" Can any man in his senses believe that Weston made this concession, when the contention was—who had the *word*, or the *truth?* I suppose that in the heat of the dispute a zealous Protestant member might triumphantly say, "*We have the word;*" to whom the Prolocutor as insultingly replied, "*But we have the sword;*" not thereby allowing the Protestant pretension, as the story makes him do, but simply conveying this answer, "If you boast of the *word*, the thing in dispute, allow us to boast, in our turn, of the *sword*, a thing out of dispute, and which we intend to employ, if the *word*, which we likewise lay claim to, will not do."

The fable says, that when the giants invaded heaven, they would have succeeded, but that they had not attained their full age. Is not this to insinuate that free-thinking was but in its infancy?

When Lord Herbert's book, *De Veritate*, first

came out, Gassendi had, I suppose, spoken of it as it deserved, for, writing to Diodati of Geneva, he expresses himself thus:—"Vous avez bien augmenté ma confusion, en me marquant les éloges que tant de grands personnages, et principalement *le Pape*, ont donné a ce livre." He then gives his opinion of the book, like a man on whom novelties could not impose, though this novelty had then so much imposed as to make the Pope patronize a book evidently written in favour of Deism and Naturalism: "My Lord me semble être allé un peu vite, et avoir un peu trop bonne opinion de son fait: il semble même un peu exceder aux louanges qu'il donne a lui-même, et à son ouvrage, comme si tous ceux qui l'ont précédé étoient des aveugles. J'en ai certes en moi-même, si je l'ose dire, un espèce de compassion, et principalement quand je considere que cet ouvrage n'est qu'une espèce de dialectique, qui peut bien avoir sa recommendation, mai qui n'empêche pas qu'on n'en puisse forger cent autres de pareille valeur et même de plus grand." (Vie de Gassendi, pp. 135, 136.) Gassendi wrote his remarks upon it, which is to be found in the edition of his works.

We find by St. Paul's 1st Ep. to the Corinthians, that many in that Church disbelieved the resurrection of the body. The common interpreters suppose these were a crew of *atheists*. Nothing so: they were ***Platonized*** Christians, who alle-

gorized the literal sense, and supposed the Ἀνάστασις to mean the arising to newness of life, to a life of virtue. This was but too common a heresy in the first ages of the Church; and to their interpretation of Ἀνάστασις the apostle beautifully alludes where he insinuates to them that it was the love of vice that kept them in this opinion: "ἐκνήψατε δικαίως καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε."

St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. v. 43, transfers the idea of seed sown to the *birth*, not the *death* of man in this world, as is commonly imagined, and then uses the figurative expression, "It is sown in dishonour," σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ. Why sown in dishonour? because we come into the world just like beasts of the field, which sure is dishonour enough; it is sown in weakness, σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, regarding the helpless state of a long infancy.

It was an observation that I made to Sir R. S. that the setters up of a false religion never succeeded unless imposture and enthusiasm joined in the comedy: either alone were unequal to the work.

It is an objection that the Church of Rome cannot be the Anti-Christian Church, since it holds all the essential doctrines of Christianity. I answer, if it did not, Antichrist, which was said to be and to arise out of the Catholic Church, could not be

to do so, but out of some heretical or schismatical branch.

Both the sabbath and the rainbow existed before each of them were used for memorials of God's dealing with his people.

The Church of England says, she forsook Rome because Rome would not suffer her to forsake her errors, and yet continue in her communion. The Puritans say, they forsook her because she is Antichrist, and they are bid to go out of Babylon. These come to the same thing. The characteristic essential mark of Antichrist is persecution.

Proverbs xviii. 22,—"*Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the Lord.*" So bold an assertion hath shocked the more experienced critics, who have presumed that Solomon expressed himself according to the copies which read, "*Whoso findeth a* GOOD *wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the Lord;*" and this out of tender regard to the *truth* of sacred Scripture. Surely Solomon was never sent into the world to make this discovery. It was a fitter exploit for the old hermit of Prague the poet speaks of, who, although he had never seen pen and ink, yet, by dint of profound sagacity, found out that *whatever is, is;* and had these critics but discovered (which required not much more reach

of thought), that the wise man was here only characterising the divine ordinance of marriage itself, as instituted in Paradise, on this great principle, "that it was NOT GOOD for man to be alone," their scruples concerning the integrity of the text would have been easily relieved, the sense of the proposition being simply this—"Whoever endeavours to conform himself to the order of Providence in supporting this institution, endeavours to obtain a good thing." It is not the *woman*, whether good or bad, of whom this quality is predicated, but the *wife*, figuratively used, too, for the holy institution of marriage itself. And this sense the concluding words of the verse might have led them to,—"*and obtaineth favour of the Lord;*" for why does he who *finds a wife* obtain God's favour? For no other reason, sure, than because he complies with and promotes the ordinance of God; for it is not to be supposed that anything satirical in the modern vein is here insinuated, as if a good wife was a special favour, of which God had not many to bestow.

Hints, probably intended for the second part of "Directions for the Study of Theology," which part seems never to have been completed.

No levity of mind which occasions indifference to truth, but a cheerfulness which gives pleasure to the pursuit.

Persuade yourself that the possession of truth is the great good.

In this severe scrutiny to find truth, take care of scepticism.

If you cannot find out a supposed truth, be assured it is of no great importance.

Doubt, said the old Academics, is the nerves of the mind. And so it is, would we endeavour to free ourselves from it; but, when we like to rest in this state, it becomes the lethargy of it.

Presumption the contrary to *doubt*, and as fatal to truth.

As when you come into your study, you throw off that set dress which fashion or your profession make you wear, to set the body at ease; so to set the mind, you should all *opinions*. The *first* when you come into public you resume again, how fantastic or incommodious soever. The *other* you examine carefully, and never resume again as truths, till you have demonstration of their being such.

Opinions new and old;—prejudices annexed to each.

Evidences to the truth new and old;—the favourable prejudices, and unfavourable of each.

Authority:—how far serve yourself of it.—More *cautious* in examining the opinions opposed to it:—more *earnest* in examining the opinions supported by it.—Want of authority.—Reasons of heretics,—not frightened, but fairly examined.

Mind indifferent to opinions,—more zealous to truth ;—the first will keep us in the right way, the other facilitate our progress in it.—A mind thus pure, has the best pretension to the Divine blessing.

II. CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

There are two principles in philosophy, that of late have raised great disputes. The first is about innate ideas: some absolutely deny, and others as resolutely defend. Mr. Locke argues against them, Lord Shaftesbury defends them. Whereas there is certainly a medium, that neither of them have hit; and this will clear up all difficulties—'tis this:—Of speculative and metaphysical ideas, we have none innate. Of moral ones we have. And in this I think the wisdom of our Creator is very conspicuous. To all our knowable ideas, we may certainly arrive by reason; therefore there is no necessity for any other way as to our speculative ideas. But as to our moral ones it is not so. To arrive at truth there is more difficulty, by reason of the passions that traverse and oppose our road. So that two helps here are necessary to gain our end. Instinct, or connate ideas, and the deductions of reason. The deductions of reason are of themselves sufficient in

the former case, where there are no passions to obstruct. In this latter not so.—See Le Clerc and Shaftesbury.

The second is about the force of self-love. And it is certain that all our moral actions may be resolved.

But then it is as certain that this self-love does not discredit the action. Whereas the advocates for self-love would discredit the action from this consideration. And their opponents deny that self-love has any thing to do in the affair;—both mistakes,—and which have embarrassed the argument.—This solution is the true key to it.

In all pure and simple languages, before they are become enriched, that is, debauched, by the luxury of arts and science, I think there can hardly be more than one word for each *mixed mode*, and must be many for *substances*. The reason seems to be this. Substances are creatures of nature's making; and their qualities are discovered by degrees, as chance or experiments upon them bring them out to observation. Substances being known only by their qualities, receive their names from thence. Hence, this or that quality striking this or that man more strongly, he gives this or that name to a substance. Another man discovers another quality, and so gives the same substance another name; another another, and so on, till one and the same

substance acquires a great many names. On the contrary, mixed modes are creatures of our own making. They consist of a number of simple ideas which we choose to tie together, and to each of these bundles we give a name; but, knowing the composition precisely as of our own putting together, there is no room to bestow more than one name to one mixed mode. Add one more idea to this bundle, or take one from it, and it becomes no longer the same mixed mode: a new one, though nearly related to the old, is created, and to this a new name is given. And the nearness of the relation having sometimes confounded them, a mistake has arisen, that one mixed mode has frequently in the same language more than one name; which, while the language continues simple, I think rarely happens. When arts and science have introduced luxury in language, one and the same moral mode is supposed to acquire several names by the beneficence of rhetoric and poetry. And yet then it will, when well examined, be generally found that all but one are abusively and inaccurately given, or taken to be synonymous when indeed they are not so. And so much confusion in expression and reasoning has arisen from thence, that lawyers and philosophers have found it necessary to redress in a formal manner the licentious use of words amongst poets and orators.

The Alma of Prior I take to be the masterpiece of all his writings. 'Tis a thorough satire, whose general view is to ridicule hypothesizing in philosophy, by the invention of a very humourous system of the mind in opposition to those of Aristotle and Descartes; in which he shows, by the several plausible and concurring arguments for the support of his whim, how easy it is for an ingenious man to dress up the most groundless fancy with the air and importance of truth and reality. This he has done in the most entertaining manner, by illustrating each philosophical position by instances from such of the common modes and habits of the age as afford the properest subjects for satire, which he never fails of adorning with all the force and delicacy imaginable. As the subject of this exquisite poem naturally suggests ideas very disadvantageous to the force and extent of human understanding, the poet does not omit to insinuate those suggestions, a high strain of scepticism running throughout the whole; particularly that noted common place of the diversity of customs and manners amongst different people, so much insisted on in a celebrated chapter of Montaigne, our poet has handled with vast humour and agreeableness.

The Templars had, without doubt, all those vices which a rich order of military are apt to fall into, pride, avarice, rapine, and luxury. But this would

not have been enough to destroy them in the age in which they were dissolved. The powerful confederacy which had decreed their ruin, in order to share their spoils, found the readiest way was to insist upon the popular tales that ran about to their discredit; tales of the same nature which had been before invented against the primitive Christians by the pagans, against the Manicheans by the Christians, and long after revived against the first Protestants by the Papists. These tales, by confessions on the rack, were urged against them as judicial evidence. Yet of all this, the only thing which appears to have any foundation in truth, was a strange custom the knights had of obliging those they received into the order [to the ceremony] of *trampling and spitting upon the cross:* which had so much the air of an *apostacy*, that it was no wonder this single rite should have them in universal execration. Yet I am persuaded even this had more of folly than impiety in it. The knights were all of noble birth, and from the age they lived in, so profoundedly ignorant, that the last grand master who suffered at the stake could neither write nor read. In their commerce with the Saracens, which at length became very intimate, they heard them profess the highest venera tion for Christ as a great prophet, and at the same time upbraid the Christians for the mean and low ideas they entertained of their Saviour, as if he had been affixed to the cross like the lowest male-

factor; whereas in truth he was taken up triumphantly into heaven, and Judas, whom the Jews mistook for Jesus, crucified in his stead. This doctrine was perfectly agreeable to the notions of these noble and ignorant knights, who thought themselves disgraced by the service of a crucified master, and so readily ran into these Mahometan ideas. Those who know the condition of these times, and that at the very period when so general an apostacy was pretended, there were great numbers of the knights of this order groaning in Saracen chains who might have redeemed themselves from captivity by their apostacy, will not be indisposed to receive this solution of the difficulty; which is further strengthened by their tradition, that, a grand master having been taken prisoner by the Saracens, the soldan would not release him but on condition that he introduced into the ceremonies of the order the custom of spitting on the cross.

About the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. a whimsical humour took its birth in his court, of drawing one another's portraits, as they were called. There was not a girl nor petit maître but who drew their acquaintance, and were drawn by them. Yet to this ridiculous fancy we owe those masterpieces which we call characters in Card. de Retz and Lord Clarendon.

The extremes of opinion into which men run, seem to be caused by a mixture of perversity which heightens the various passions and prejudices which betray us into these follies. Thus, while some deny that inexplicable force of imagination which produces such effects in pregnant women, against the fullest and clearest evidence that ever confirmed matters of fact, others ascribe much more accountable effects of its power to miraculous operation.

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In a court where decorum is observed and decency consulted, they will, in important matters, such as the education of a prince, call into nomination the greatest characters for learning and virtue. Thus when the education of Louis the XIV. came in question, Gassendi, Rigault, and Perefixe were named, out of whom to make a choice. But courts are courts still, and whether the list on this occasion be collected from the worthy or the unworthy, they are sure to take the worst man from either list.

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Great men of similar characters, and in the same circumstances, often act as if they learned of one another; whereas the same spirit was the common teacher. Cicero, in his Epistles to Atticus, informs his friend that Cæsar, now master of the republic, called Cicero to Rome, and invited him to partake his counsels; who expressing a re-

luctancy to this service, the dictator told him, that if he would not permit him to use his advice, he would use such as he could get from others, who would not be so scrupulous. In like manner when Cromwell found that Hale, whom he sounded for that purpose in private, was backward to the project of administering justice under him on the bench, the usurper told him, with some passion but more resolution, that if he could not govern by the red gowns he would govern by the red coats. The application of Cromwell to Hale was more successful than that of Cæsar to Cicero. Not that the English lawyer loved his country less, but that the Roman was more vain, intriguing, and ambitious.

The different manner in which Cicero's history of Orators, and Pliny's history of Painters are written, is very remarkable. In the first you see the orators rise in order from their first rude beginnings, and gradually improving till they arrive at perfection. In the other the earliest painters and statuaries are described as all-excellent. Then follow others with new-invented beauties of more perfection: after these come others with something still more exquisite to recommend them. This shows that Cicero himself examined all the orators he brings in review, and was a perfect master of his subject. On the other hand Pliny was indebted for his accounts of the painters of all ages to their contemporary historians, who having no

idea of greater perfection that what they saw, they who begun, and they who perfected the art, would be spoken of much alike.

True policy, I think, does not so much consist in forming projects, as in making the right use of accidents as they arise.

Descartes and Leibnitz were both great geniuses. I pity the first, for he was a visionary: I despise the other, for he was a cheat.

That very cause which made the Roman lawyers write better Latin than their contemporaries, makes our lawyers write worse English than theirs: both were engaged in studying the laws and lawyers which went before them.

The first great seaman the Romans had was C. Duillius, he who first overcame the Carthaginians, those masters of the sea, in a naval combat. Tully makes the elder Cato tell this story of him, that it was his custom (in a city that gave neither encouragement to nor example of such a practice), in returning home from entertainments, to be preceded by torches and music, "*Tantum licentiæ dabat gloria*," says the Censor. By this we may see how alike in manner sailors of all times and places ever were.

When Caligula made his horse a consul, I make no question but in his jollity he added to the insult, by telling his courtiers that he only imitated the example of the best times of the republic, when they took their consuls from the plough.

Men are never so complaisant to their imagination as when they have done great feats with their reason. Women never so presuming with their reason as when they have previously inflamed their imagination.

The heads of James I. and Charles II. better than their hearts: the hearts of Charles I. and James II. better than their heads. Hence the politics of the two former most successful.

Amongst the numberless instances of the greatness of Bacon's genius, this may be reckoned for one. In his book of the "Advancement of Learning," he makes the *first philosophy* to consist in maxims common to the several sciences. This being a little fanciful, in pursuing his point, instead of *real maxims*, the fire of his imagination carries him to conclude his examples of them in mere similitudes. Here an ordinary genius would have stopped with satisfaction; but Bacon was not the dupe of his imagination, how indulgent soever he was to it: therefore, though he does not reform

his slip, he endeavours to cover and conceal it; p. 215, "Neque hæc omnia quæ diximus," &c.

In your commerce with the great, if you would have it to turn to your advantage, you should endeavour, if the person be of great abilities, to make him satisfied with *you;* if he be of none, to make him satisfied with *himself.*

The Royal Society in its first institution had two formidable adversaries, Hobbes and Stubbs. The first, because he gave no attention but to his own ideas; the second, because he gave no attention but to the ideas of the ancients. The Society was too new for the one, and not new enough for the other.

When men's imaginations are heated on any subject of abhorrence, they fancy strange forms of terror in whatever holds anything in common with it. When James the First's Parliament of 1620 were warmly engaged in the pursuit and prosecution of the monopolists, so great a scandal to that and the foregoing and following reigns, somebody chanced to bring in a Bill *for the repair of the great road or highway to London between Beglesworth* and Baldock,* to be supported by a toll on the passengers; it was thrown out, "*because* (says the collector of the proceedings of that House of Commons)—*it savoured of a monopoly;*" and the good patriots

* Sic.

of that time rather chose to stick fast, as their fathers had done, at every step, in the clay of Baldock lane, than to give countenance to anything that savoured of a monopoly. They had suffered greatly by monopolies, and they mistook every project to be of the monopoly kind: like Cervantes' madman of Madrid, who, having been chastised for using a spaniel dog ill, mistook every dog for a spaniel.

Lord Clarendon lived in an age of great geniuses; and it is remarkable that in drawing the various characters of them he generally observes that they were small-sized, or inconveniently shaped. That was an age of *little great men;* this is an age of *great little men.*

Solicitude for the present, and anxiety for the future, set curious men in the dark ages of literature upon cultivating the pretended sciences of *judicial astrology* and the *transmutation of metals.* True philosophy has long since drawn the learned from these fruitless inquiries: but, what is a disgrace to the precision and exactness of judgment which now prevails, these two pretended sciences are now treated on the same footing, as equally the opprobrium to the human understanding; whereas there is so immense a distance between them, that *judicial astrology* would disgrace a moderately mad Bedlamite, while the process in the

transmutation of metals only fails from *art's* being not yet able to discover the secret by which *nature* works in this transmutation, which is certainly one of its operations, and an operation mechanically performed by means of heat on fitly disposed bodies. But it seems to me that moral, rather than physical, causes in God's government of the world have prevented, and will for ever prevent, the certain knowledge of this process of nature.

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Sects and parties are generally as far from truth and modesty when they give themselves *titles* as when their enemies give them to them. We have had in different times Reformers to bring us back to pure religion, and Reformers to carry us away from all. Two ages ago Erasmus was at the head of the first. All that the stupidity of the monks could do to discredit them was to call them *poets*, insinuating that they were devoid of truth and science, at a time when all science had taken refuge with them. It is pleasant to observe that whenever monkish dulness is opposed by wit and eloquence, nature points to the same relief: "*the laws* (says grave Bp. Nicolson, speaking of Atterbury's famous though false book of the Rights, Powers and Privileges of Convocation,) will never long endure such a load of jest and poetry." The Reformers from religion of the present times (at the head of whom is Voltaire) would not trust their

good name to their enemies, and therefore conferred one upon themselves, and so called themselves PHILOSOPHERS; insinuating that all *reason* had left the religionists, and was gone over to these *reformers* of common sense.

There is a deal of good sense and knowledge, from habit of business, in these (Sir Philip Warwick's) Memoirs. The composition is bad, and the style slovenly and inaccurate. I say nothing of his public prejudices, which had a natural and not unamiable root.

I do not think the method of learning languages at school so defective as has been represented. If there be any irregularity in the method, I think it is learning Latin prose and verse promiscuously; the first taught first; the literal sense taught before the figurative; and perhaps too much verse.

Camden says of Hooker's Eccl. Pol.—"most worthy to be turned into Latin." *I* say most worthy *not* to be turned into Latin:—but this was natural for a schoolmaster.

Mr. Addison in his Travels mocks at an Italian poet for declaring gravely in an advertisement to his comedy, that he did not believe the fates, destinies, gods, &c. of Paganism; but, had that critic known that all the dramatic poets do the

same, he would have seen little room for his reflection: besides, the Inquisition is reason enough for so doing; and Paul the Second actually had it in his thoughts to erect a kind of inquisition against poets. This was at the commencement of the restoration of letters.

Plautus, by his vastly greater variety of characters than Terence, seems to have had a more comprehensive knowledge of human nature than this latter.

Terence has generally the preference given him to Plautus with regard to sentiments; and yet, perhaps, the sentiments of Alcumena, in the second act of Amphitryon, are finer, or, at least, equal to the best in Terence, where she comforts herself for Amphitryon's absence, and says,—

> "Virtus præmium est optimum,
> Virtus," &c.

For, first, these are the sentiments of the sex in general, who prefer valour to all the other cardinal virtues; secondly, they are the sentiments of free republics; thirdly, it was a fine compliment to the Romans.

Though in Cicero's orations against Catiline he feigns in one the greatest rage against Catiline; in another, the warmest love for his country; in another, respect for justice, &c.; yet throughout the whole the predominant passion is fear: for

instance, in the first oration, would he have laboured so much to make Catiline believe all his counsels were betrayed to him, had he not been under terrible fears of him? when, certainly, the most politic way to have defeated the conspiracy would have been, to have hid all suspicion of intelligence, as this was the ready way to make Catiline purge his council of the traitors.

Virgil's sixth book made him pass in the monkish ages for a conjuror. This was so strongly impressed on their minds, that an idolatrous fondness for this poet made men to be thought magicians. So Innocent the Sixth continued to believe Petrarch to be a magician for this only reason, his fondness for Virgil. A note to the "*Dii quibus imperium*," was understood by them as a serious invocation.

It appears evidently by the state in which we find this work,* that Sidney first wrote it without the long episode of the siege of Amphialus consequent on the seizing of the princes, and afterwards added that episode, which he left unfinished. The romance seems to be more regular and entire without it, though it be full of beauties. It was first in four books, as appears by there being only four eclogues, to each book one; but this episode changed the number of books into five, and so one

* Probably the Arcadia.

was without its eclogue, and in another, namely the third, misplaced.

What I learn by these *Letters** is this, that the Whigs were much to blame for not making a good peace in 1706 and —9, and the Tories for making an ill one in 1712. There was this difference, that when the Whigs treated they were not embarrassed by the Tories, but when the Tories treated they were greatly embarrassed by the Whigs; from whence it appears, that, had the Tories been free to act when in power,—that is, aided, or, at least, not impeded, by the Whigs, they would have made a better peace. The Whigs when in power had not the same excuse why they did not make a peace at all. When a peace was made, the Whigs condemn the Tories because it was no better; the Tories condemn the Whigs for hindering (as they certainly did) their endeavours to procure a *better*. They accuse each other justly; and between them both have made it manifest that a struggle for power, and not the interest of their country, was the sole view, as well of the one as of the other. Had the Whigs been the real *patriots*, they would, when thrown out of the saddle by the Tories, have concurred with them to procure a *good* peace, when, by their opposition, they could not hinder a *bad* one;

* What these Letters are does not appear.

and had the Tories in power been the real *patriots*, when the opposition of the Whigs encouraged France to deny the ministry reasonable terms, even in the height of their own distresses, they would either have refused a peace on the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, or joined with the Whigs to force France to give them better; therefore, as neither one party nor the other did their duty on this occasion, one may pronounce them both *factions*, and that the faults in the Utrecht treaty are to be charged, though not equally, on them both.

One day that Mr. Lyttelton, Hooke and I dined with Mr. Murray, Hooke entertained us with a number of ridiculous stories of the coxcombical vanity of the Chevalier Ramsay; on which Mr. Lyttelton said, "If such be the man, how came you, Mr. Hooke, to follow him perpetually as his *élève*—to cry up his romance of Cyrus, and to translate it so finely into English?" "As for that matter," said I, "Mr. Hooke acted well the discernment and fidelity of Sancho Pança, who had discovered his master to be a madman, but could not help admiring him as the wisest madman in the world."

March 22, 1770.—The Duke of Cumberland came up to us as we were sitting in a knot upon our bench, and talking of what was then passing. He said, "My Lords, it is observed that you always

keep silence, and except you (addressing himself to me), I never heard any of the Bishops speak." "Sir," said I, "whenever I hear *religion* or the *bench* insulted, your Royal Highness shall hear me speak in their vindication." "Aye; but why will not your Lordships speak on other occasions?" "Sir," replied I, "haranguing in this assembly is a *trade* like other trades, and generally the Bishops come to this bench so advanced in years as to be too old to learn. Besides, sir," said I, "we have been long accustomed to severe reason and exact method; so that we should be as much at a loss to talk *nonsense* as some others, more habituated, to talk *sense*."

A state of authorship is a state of war, and when I first drew my pen every *popgun* alarmed me; but by use, and the experience of no danger, I learned to hear a *blunderbuss* discharged at either ear without the least emotion.

In a thing called *An Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, by Harris*, there is an *Appendix*, containing a number of very curious letters written by Cromwell, between '46 and '54, of a domestic nature, to those within his own walls, to his children, his family and allies [relations]; which would almost persuade one that he was a sincere and warm enthusiast. If this will not be allowed, all that can be said is,

that he here played the hypocrite only to keep his hand in; or that hypocrisy, by long habit, had gotten so entire a possession of all his faculties, that he was in the condition of the common liar Shakespeare speaks of,

> Who loving an untruth by telling 't oft,
> Made such a sinner of his memory,
> To credit his own lie.

PART V.

CHARGES AND SERMONS.

CHARGE

TO THE

CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF GLOUCESTER,

1767.

My Reverend Brethren,

Our Blessed Saviour, in His divine discourses to his disciples, intermixes indiscriminately the precepts which He designed for the future use, both of the *preachers* and *hearers* of the Word, at such time as the followers of that religion, which He was sent to teach, should be formed into a church. A *method* most proper for the regulation and government of a free society like the Christian, in which the teachers are rather *monitors* to men *taught before of God,* than instructors in new principles to an audience, who was to swallow implicitly whatsoever was delivered to them.

This method of instruction is carried on throughout the whole Sermon on the Mount, where the precept is sometimes addressed to the future hearer, and sometimes to the future teacher of the Word; and this, not only on different subjects, but on one and the same. As for instance, *that natural penetration men have, and*

quick sight, into the faults and blemishes of others, and blindness to their own: a moral phenomenon so strange and perverse, as well as general and constant, that the ancient *masters of wisdom* were forced to have recourse to a *mythologic fable* to explain it,—a fable implying that it was by the positive appointment of the Author of our being. But it was the way of *ancient wisdom* to make *plain things mysterious;* otherwise a little attention to human nature would have easily discovered the cause of this unequal measure distributed to ourselves and others. Vice is in itself so odious, that it always shocks us when fairly seen. In another's case nothing hinders our observation, and many things concur to engage our attention: in our own, self-love either *gilds* the vice, so as to give it some faint resemblance of virtue; or, on the other hand, so clouds it, as to make its deformity evanid and indistinct.

This self-delusion is the subject of our Saviour's censure, which is equally directed to the hearer and the teacher. The hearer he severely upbraids, where he says, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" And to his reproof of the *teacher,* he subjoins this direction: "How wilt thou say to thy brother, brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam

that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite! first cast out the beam that is in thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."*

The present occasion invites us to turn our thoughts upon this reproof and direction to the *ministers* of religion, from whence it may be gathered that these pupils of the great physician of the soul must, in order to render their spiritual prescriptions successful, begin with themselves, and practice upon their own disorders. "Physician cure thyself,"† being the formulary which nature prompted the patient to address to his physician when he observed this previous self-discipline had been neglected.

What I shall, then, my Reverend Brethren, attempt to shew you is, that without this *home preparation*,

1. We shall never gain that *confidence* in our spiritual patients, which is necessary to dispose them to co-operate with our endeavours in the cure of their disorders. And secondly,

2. That though we should be so fortunate to gain their *good-will*, yet our *ignorance* in the methods of curing *moral disorders* would render our ministry vain and fruitless.

For there are two requisites in the *art of healing*; the one is the patient's *good opinion* of his physician; and the other, the physician's *ex-*

* Matthew, c. vii. v. 3, 4, 5. † Luke, c. iv. v. 23.

perience and knowledge of the patient's case, both of which our spiritual oculist in the text must needs want.

To consider these in their order.

I. The patient's good opinion of his physician, must arise from a confidence, either of his *honesty* or his *skill*, or indeed of both.

His *honesty* must stand on the truth of his professions, that *love of his neighbour* and *hatred of vice* are the sole motives of his officious charity.

But now, the love of his neighbour could never operate so imperfectly as to make the *mote* in *his* eye the sole subject of his care, while he neglected the *beam* in *his own*. A compassionate concern for our neighbour, necessarily implies a *sense* of the vast benefit we would assist him to procure. But here the common proverb takes place, that *charity begins at home;* and had we that vast sense of it, we should first of all turn our care upon our own more deplorable condition. The precept of *loving our neighbour as ourselves*, can never, sure, be so grossly mistaken as to signify the loving him *before* ourselves; or rather indeed *instead* of ourselves. *Ourselves* are the *measure* of our love of our neighbour, and therefore till this measure be first fixed by an operation on ourselves, we never shall be able to apply it to our neighbour.

Neither can it be the *hatred of vice* that engages

men thus circumstanced in this charitable office. For did we truly hate sin, we should never suffer it to abide *unmolested* in ourselves.

The rise and spring of *hatred* to any object, proceeds from the sense of *evil felt*, or the rational grounds of *evil apprehended*. Real hatred of vice, therefore, must first arise from the evil we have found it to produce in ourselves, and the evil we know it is still *ready* to produce. But whatever we hate, we shun and avoid as the cause of pain, abhorrent to our nature. So that did we *indeed* hate vice, *as such*, we should not have afforded it entertainment at first, or we should have given it no quiet, after its surreptitious entrance. Again, our *hatred* to any object is always in proportion to the quantity and degree of evil it hath caused, or is ready to cause in us. Now though each particular hath his share in the evil of *vice*, wheresoever it is found, because vice is destructive to society, and to our common nature, yet every man's own vice is principally and more immediately destructive to himself. Of all vice, therefore, he who cordially hates it as an *evil* must hate his own the most.

Let no minister or teacher of the Word deceive himself, or imagine he can deceive others, in this matter. His flock will never be persuaded, that such an one sets himself on work either out of love to them or hatred to sin, while his love to *himself* hath not yet induced him to break his confederacy

with vice. They will rather think, that his declamations against iniquity are *words of course;* which his profession, his office, and his *spiritual relation* to them, *obliges* him to repeat in public from time to time. And if, as is his duty, he chances to be more particular in his *occasional application* to their moral disorders, he will escape well if they do not ascribe to him (under the cover of an attention to his *pastoral care*), the gratification of a pragmatic humour, which loves to pry into the disorders of their families, only to indulge a vicious curiosity;—he will escape well, I say, if they do not call it *malice* or *malignity*, which feeds on the *detection* of hidden faults and blemishes, and rejoices in another's shame and mortification. At best, they will laugh at his care as excited by a *superstitious fancy*, that he may *atone* for his own faults by a pitiless severity towards those failings under which his flock labours. Thus it comes to pass, that we make the Word of God of none effect through our foolishness.

II. But should the ministers of the Gospel, (and it is the other point which I proposed to consider,) be so fortunate as to gain the good opinion of their *flock*, yet *ignorance*, under these circumstances, in the *method* of curing *moral disorders*, would render their ministry vain and fruitless.

For let us now suppose all prejudices against him to be removed, and those under his direction

ready to become his patients; how will he set about the cure? In the relief of bodily disorders, the human frame in general, and the peculiar constitution of each several patient, must be carefully studied. And yet the body, contrived to subsist by the certain and unvariable laws of mechanism, is an easy subject of comprehension, in comparison of that of the mind,—the immortal and free principle within us, which the spiritual physician has to keep in order; the mind, whose cause of action is from itself, unsubjected to the laws of matter and motion, in which the senses, passions and appetites, like so many wheels of its own making and construction, occasion the most complicate and perplexed motions, irregular and inconstant. The science of man, therefore, is not knowledge but conjecture. Yet of this science, such as it is, the faithful minister of the Word should make himself master before he can pretend to practice upon spiritual disorders.

For vice, as it was *introduced*, so it *reigns* in man, only by the aid and contrivance of the passions, which, by a thousand artful pretences, betray us to the enemy, or cabal and confederate with him against us. To subdue vice, therefore, all the agitations of the more violent, all the tricks of the cooler passions, are to be studied and got by heart: a difficult and growing labour,

But how shall that *blind pastor*, who himself continues a slave to his vices, have either *vigour*

to attempt, or *penetration* to detect the source of the evils of this kind,—how vice began its attack,—how it advanced,—and how at length it got a lodgment within us.

To attempt, therefore, the cure of those committed to our care, without such knowledge and experience, is only the presumption of a quack and empiric. If his knowledge extends not to the memory of what passion it was that first betrayed him; what external accident it was which first favoured the unheeded entrance of vice; how shall he be able to set a guard upon that passion, or fortity the mind against the like accidents? The *experience* of such an untaught minister, will be as defective as his *knowledge.* To eradicate vicious habits, is a work of so much difficulty, that the *prophets* of the *old law* compare it to things impossible. "*Can the Ethiopian change his skin? or the leopard his spots? Then may ye do good, who are accustomed to do evil.*"* The great Prophet of the *new law,* indeed, has rendered that possible by *grace,* which the other deemed impossible by *nature.* But still it is a work of *infinite difficulty;* and only to be brought about by the most attentive observance of the state and disposition of the human mind, by remarking the several *degrees* of usurpation to which the passions are arrived; the *habits* those passions have settled in the heart; and the *prejudices* and *false reason-*

* Jeremiah, c. xiii. v. 23.

ings those habits have brought the understanding to take up with. But as these things are to be gained no otherwise than by *reflecting* on what passes in our own mind; and by an *internal experience* arising out of that reflection; and as we advance in the knowledge of ourselves only in proportion to our labour in the reformation of our lives, it is utterly impossible that he who hath not worked this home cure,—this recovery of himself,—should ever be able to assist others in the removal of their disorders.

For in the cure of *mental diseases*, where (besides the nature of *free agency* in that principle, which makes its operations infinitely various and discordant,) ideas of things are not to be gained by *analogy* to other ideas, but by the very sensations themselves, another man's experience can do us no more service than the experience which a seeing man hath gained of the objects of sight can enable him to convey adequate ideas of such objects to a man born blind.

How, for instance, shall any one who has never tried to subdue his passions by the severe application of reason and religion, know what effect this *conflict* must have on a patient who is willing to try the experiment? And yet from the knowledge of this very thing depends all our success in our *spiritual practice;* because the extraordinary and tumultuous state of the mind, during the struggle between the *disease* and the *remedy*, must

have such peculiar aids and supports administered to it, as may enable the mind to conquer the difficulties through which in that state it is to labour.

But to shew more fully that no *acquirements in philosophy*, no *advancements in theology*, while resting only in *theory*, will avail in our attempts to cure the *moral disorders* of our flock, let us attend to the usual success of one best gifted and endowed with this speculative knowledge only.

Such a one has, we will suppose, by a long and learned *discipline*, been initiated in all the *mysteries* concerning HUMAN NATURE. He hath traced up the celestial origin of the soul; found it to rise above *matter*, and to be the author of its own *motion*. He hath studied all the effects of its union with a *mortal body;* he hath analysed its *operations;* and investigated its various *faculties:* he hath taken the height of the *imagination;* measured the extent of the *understanding*, and weighed and balanced the *passions*. To so much knowledge and experience, one would think, no disease or malady to which the human mind is subject, could long remain obstinate or intractable. But, alas! if his own heart be not set right, and put in order by a careful *self-discipline;* if, while he exhorts others to *vigilance*, to *victory*, by a continual struggle and combat with their *vices*, he *himself* lies a prey to his appetites,—a dupe to *pleasure*, a slave to *avarice*,—or the creature

of *ambition*,—we all see how *mean*, and he himself will soon find how ineffectual, a trust he has taken upon himself to discharge on the most serious and important theatre of human life,—the care of other men's *salvation*.

Permit me, therefore, my reverend brethren, charitably to *remind you of* what the enemies of all godliness will otherwise be sure to *insult you with*, that ancient proverb, "*physician, heal thyself*."

A CHARGE ON THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY.

(UNFINISHED.)

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

These appointed assemblies of the Bishop and his clergy had these two purposes—to enforce his exhortations to the discharge of their parochial duty, and to receive their advices for the good government of his diocese. This latter part, whether through the modesty of the clergy, or the sufficiency of the diocesan, has grown into disuse; and our assembly has been so entirely spent in the other, that the discourses from this place have got the general name of *charge;* implying that the common subject of them all was the enforcing the duty of the pastoral care; and this has been so constantly observed, that, whatever other subject was occasionally handled, it was such an one as tended to enable us to the better discharge of that duty, whether it concerned the morals of the minister, his learning and knowledge, or his establishment in the orthodox faith. With a constant eye to this have all discourses

from this place been directed, and therefore with great propriety have got the common name of CHARGE: not as a lord chargeth his servant, but, to use the words of St. Paul to the Church of Thessalonica, "*as a father doth his children.*" (1 Thess. ii. 11.) And very deservedly; for, as ministers of the Church of Christ, the pastoral care is the end,—personal morals, and the accomplishments of literature and orthodoxy, only the means towards it. Let me, therefore, my beloved brethren, in the first place exhort you, in the warmest and most earnest manner, to the diligent and faithful discharge of this great and characteristic duty.

In addressing ourselves to the discharge of any important duty, these inquiries come early into our consideration,—how it may be done with most efficacy, safety, and sobriety? In this of the pastoral care, our own good morals most of all facilitate our labours; the soundness of our faith prevents us from labouring in vain; and the knowledge of our profession keeps them from degenerating into any of those species of fanaticism, whether spiritual or literary, which so much dishonour both the law and the Gospel.

And as this latter, the true knowledge of our profession, is the best security I know of against the prevalent follies of this kind, I will venture to offer my advice in some directions for the study of divinity, which I presume only to address to

you, the younger part of my brethren; the elder being fitter to give, however ready they may be to receive, advice upon this subject; and to them I might well commit this care of instructing their younger brethren, but that it may possibly come from this place with somewhat greater authority.

But on my entrance on this subjest,—directions for the study of divinity,—it will be proper to explain to you what I mean by the term; that is, the most perfect knowledge which by human study can be procured of the truths contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments. All *artificial theology*, other than what is the natural and necessary result from these truths, I neither recommend to your favour, nor would obtrude into your acquaintance, further than to enable you to detect their impostures.

In the prosecution of my subject I shall have these two things principally in view,—to make the study easy and the means cheap. By directing you to the best writers on every subject, I shall abridge your labour by contracting the number; I shall lessen the expense by that number's consisting only of the selected few; for the capital books of real learning and genius are by their multiplied editions generally purchased at a very easy rate.

A Jove principium has here a peculiar propriety. We must begin with the first principles in which are laid the foundation of RELIGION, or what more

properly constitute the thing itself; I mean GOD and the SOUL; for all *revealed* rises on *natural* religion, and natural religion from the relation between the creature and the Creator.

Our first inquiry, therefore, will be into the existence of these two parts of the intellectual system; and then, whether the nature of each of them be such, that from thence RELIGION in the received meaning of the word can subsist? for if neither of these were in being, religion could have no beginning; and if God were partial and capricious in his nature, or the soul tied down to the laws of fate by its condition; religion could have no continuance, as reward for well-doing could neither be expected nor deserved: for thus St Paul reasons; *He that cometh to God,* (i. e., he who professeth religion) *must believe that He* IS, *and that he is a rewarder*—of whom?—*of them that diligently* seek *Him,* (i. e. of men endowed with freedom of will.)

The existence of atheism, or whether it had ever in fact got possession of the human mind, could not, I suppose, have become a doubt amongst serious men, had it not been from their imbibing in the schools the absurd principle of *innate ideas;* of which the *being of God* must needs be the first. So that a philosophical deduction from an imaginary principle made men, as is not unusual, conclude against the testimony and experience of all ages. Bad philosophy had

made some men atheists, and then again bad philosophy made others call in question the very existence of such a kind of monster. And this doubt licentious writers have of late been forward enough to encourage, and for as monstrous a purpose. It was, indeed, to keep hid one species of atheism, which they themselves are industrious to propagate,—that which denies a moral governor of the world. For the late advancements in the knowledge of nature have so totally routed the grosser atheism, that the enemies of religion have entrenched themselves in the more refined, where, by reason that our advances in moral knowledge have not kept pace with those in *natural*, they yet shelter themselves from those disgraces that now attend the profession of the other.

God is to the soul of man what the sun is to the earth, without whose existence it would be shut up in eternal night, and without whose influence it would be locked up in eternal frost. His existence, therefore, and his moral government, are truths that you must well establish in your mind. And equal to their importance is the force of their evidence; they being to be demonstrated both *à priori* and *à posteriori*, as they speak. Of the first kind you may be amply furnished by Cudworth, in his *Intellectual System*, and by Clarke in his *Discourses on the Being of a God*. In the latter you will meet with every

thing that the most solid metaphysical reasoning can supply; and in the former, together with that, the whole history of ancient, and I had almost said, modern atheism, developed with a clearness, a penetration, an abundance, and a superiority of just and manly criticism, that will entitle it to your most careful study.—If you would see the demonstration of the same truth *à posteriori*, instead of recommending to you any of those discourses, such as Nieuentit, Ray, Derham, the Abbé Pluche, &c. which all have their merit, as collecting their evidence of this great truth from the late wonderful discoveries in experimental physics, I would rather you had recourse to the authors of those great discoveries themselves; from whence you will collect with greater pleasure, and perhaps with greater force, certainly more forcibly impressed, the consequences demonstrative of this great truth.

On this account, I would recommend to your careful study, the popular explanations of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy by Pemberton and Maclaurin, especially the former, not only because it comprises the whole of that divine person's discoveries, which the other has not done, but has explained that philosophy in so happy and superior a way, that a scholar, and one accustomed to abstract reasoning, as the student just come from Cudworth and Clarke must needs be, will be able, without much mathematics, to under-

stand all the wonders of the solar system, as perfectly as the most able geometrician. I say the wonders of the Deity as well, though by no means will he have so perfect a conception of the wonderful force of that divine genius, the brightest emanation of the Deity, who laid open his works to the praise and adoration of mankind. And then it may not be improper, to justify the projects and execution of these men, to read a little posthumous tract written by Sir Isaac Newton himself on this subject in the popular way, and which he first intended to be published in the Principia.

But as Creation and Providence appears to man no less in the smallest works of creation than in the largest, and his footsteps are traced in the formation of the smallest insect, as well as in the course of the planets, I would recommend to your serious perusal, the history of insects by that celebrated French naturalist, Reaumur, whose wonderful industry, application, and acumen can never be sufficiently admired.

The next knowledge of importance to the religionist, after the study of the Deity, is the knowledge of *himself*, as a rational and an accountable creature. And the first question is [respecting] that which is called MIND, in which his rational faculties reside: whether it be a substantial being, distinct from his body, and of a different nature, united to it at present by some

unaccountable tie; or whether it be only a quality resulting from some peculiar organization of body? Locke had entered upon this inquiry, but pushed it no further than to this conclusion,—that the phœnomena of the mind cannot be accounted for from any of the discoverable properties of matter, or solid extended substance; and, therefore, that it was only in the highest degree probable, that the soul was a substance of another nature, namely immaterial. But Clarke, and above all Baxter, pushed this inquiry much further; and by the assistance, not of metaphysics, but of Sir Isaac Newton's physics, have demonstrated the soul to be an immaterial substance. "They drew their conclusion, not on the presumption that they knew all the knowable qualities of matter, and that between these and *thought* there was no perceivable connexion, but from this clear and solid truth, that, from the little we do know of body, we see a contradiction in supposing *intelligence* to be a quality of matter. For thus they reasoned: though we know not all the powers of matter, yet we know certainly it cannot have *inconsistent* and *contradictory* powers. It is allowed to have essentially a *vis inertiæ*, or that it *resists a change of its state;* it is impossible, therefore, that it should at the same time have spontaneous motion, or *effect a change of its state.* If this be the case, (and to deny that it is the case is confounding all the prin-

ciples of human knowledge,) then it is *impossible the soul should be material.*"*

These two writers, and especially the latter, will be worth a careful study. The books I mean to recommend are Clarke's Answers to Collins; and Baxter on the Nature of the Soul, together with his Answer to some strictures of Maclaurin.

The next question will be concerning this immaterial substance. Is it an agent properly? or, in other words, is it free? For a being destitute of freedom, we apprehend, can be no subject of religion, that is, have merit or demerit. A less reason than this very important one, would not be sufficient to engage you in so intricate, so obscure, and so large a field of controversy; nor is it my purpose to have you lost in it, though it be of so much concern to have it determined. There are two little tracts,† but master-pieces in their kind, which, if well studied, will be fully sufficient to make you masters of the subject, and to secure you against all the sophistry and chicanery employed to deprive you of the best part of your manhood, I mean your freedom.

When you have gone thus far into the knowledge of these great principles, you will meet with something resulting from them ready to stop your course, something that has embarrassed

* Quoted from his own "View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy," Works, vol. vii. p. 627. 4to edit.

† These the Bishop has unfortunately omitted to name.

all the inquirers of the ages past, and will probably disturb those of the ages to come; for men have never been disposed to separate those things which are *not* the proper subjects of human contemplation, from those which are: what I mean is, of *the origin of evil.* If God be all-good and all-powerful, how did it arise and exist? But the irreligionist, with the malice to embarrass, and the religionist, with the vanity of doing what no one was able to do before, has been always forward in writing upon this subject,—a secret residing amongst the arcana of the Godhead. A man who, with a real design of serving religion, thinks he can solve the difficulty, and that the solving it is necessary to secure the foundations of religion, will deserve our double pity, for he is doubly deceived. *He* must know little of philosophy who fancies he can solve the difficulty. *He* must know less of religion, who fancies that the want of it can affect our belief in God.

The sober Divine, therefore, will be ashamed to want the prudence of a good poet,

———"Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent,"

and will go on with his more useful and important enquiries.

Having well digested these important truths of the soul's substantiality and freedom, he will be well-disposed to have a more minute acquaintance with the nature of its faculties and operations, on

a true knowledge of which depends all his future progress in all human and divine science, comprised under the general name of theology. It will teach him to distinguish real from imaginary knowledge, certain from uncertain, useful from unconcerning. And this will be gained by the famed "*Essay on the Human Understanding;*" which, therefore, I would recommend you, not as it was recommended in the course of your education, but "versare manu," &c. Nor will it be unfruitful to you to examine well all those pieces of the same great author, whether controversial or otherwise, that have a relation to this work.

Understanding now the true nature, the faculties, and the operations of the human mind, you are qualified to enter on those studies that concern human devoirs, comprised under the common name of *Ethics*. . . . . .

SERMON I.

HUMILITY.

[Preached before the King, Oct. 30, 1757.]

1 Peter, v. 5.

Be clothed with Humility.

The two constituent parts of the *new man* of the Gospel-creation are, *faith* and *humility*. The *inward* part is what St. Paul terms the *spirit of faith*: and the *outward* what his fellow-labourer St. Peter, here calls the *clothing of humility*. And both the doctrine and the practice are so peculiar to the Christian ordinance, that *humility* was till now as little understood to make a part of *virtue*, as *faith* a part of *religion*. And therefore there is great elegance in the literal expression of the *original*, which bids us to put on humility for a *badge*, as was the custom in ancient times among servants, that it might be known to *whom* they belonged.

The instructors of the civilised world at that time were the *Greek philosophers* and the *Jewish priests*.

Amongst the former, pride and self-conceit was so much the badge of every sect and party, that at length it became the distinguishing mark of *Grecian wisdom*.

Amongst the Jews, their separation from the rest of mankind, and their selection for God's peculiar people; their own rational worship, and the blind idolatry of their neighbours; filled them with all kind of *carnal* and *spiritual* pride, which too naturally inclined them to hate and despise all others.

This was the state and temper of the most enlightened parts of the unbelieving world, when Jesus came to rectify the universal *depravity of morals* amongst men.

And foreseeing that the inestimable benefits and high prerogatives of the *Gospel* would proportionably inflame this *unclean spirit of pride*, he frequently repeats the lesson of my text, but never with such tenderness and affection, as when he invites us to partake with him in the honour of his example. *Learn of me* (says the Saviour of the world), *for I am meek and lowly in heart.** But he joins our highest *interest* to this honour; for he makes *humility* the only road and entrance into the kingdom of *glory*.

And all this was no more than sufficient to combat pride, this pest of humanity. For every advantage of our nature and condition, which so naturally stimulate the seeds of pride and vanity, all centered in the professors of Christ's religion. They were become, like the *Jews*, the select and

* Matt. xi. 29.

chosen people of God; and appointed, like the *Gentile* sages (but by a much higher authority), for public instructors and examples to mankind. Add to this those other circumstances of their *importance;* that the eternal SON OF GOD suffered for their *redemption*, and the HOLY GHOST was sent down for their *sanctification*. Who, at the same time that he purified the hearts of the faithful, strengthened their hands by every kind of supernatural power; such as the *gift of tongues, inspired knowledge of divine mysteries, insight into futurity*, and the *subdual of nature* in the miraculous relief of the bodily infirmities of their brethren. These were such flattering prerogatives, and set the first followers of Christ so much above the common level of mankind, that it was no wonder if some amongst them should be apt to regard all below them with contempt. And in fact, we find from several passages in St. Paul's Epistles, and particularly from that celebrated encomium on charity in his 1st to the Corinthians, that even the largest profusion of supernatural graces did not secure them from spiritual arrogance and pride.

So far as to the peculiar expediency of this precept of *humility* at the time it was delivered.

The general reasonableness of enforcing it at all times comes next to be considered.

The first and strongest motive to *humility* in man is his reflection on the rank and station which he

bears in the intellectual world: apparently, the *lowest* in the *reasonable* system. For how small a distance do we find between the faculties of the *dullest* men, and those of the more *sagacious* animals! How much in common does man hold with his fellow-creatures of the field! The same mode of generation; the same means of nutrition and support; and many even of the same appetites and instincts: in *these* inferior to the brutes, who never trangress those bounds which nature has set them; whereas man has the miserable prerogative of turning his *appetites* into crimes, and his instincts into misery.

But we need not *this comparison* for our *humiliation*. What each man feels and experiences of his own personal *infirmities*, both in body and mind, sufficiently instructs him in his own abject condition. We bear about us a frail and brittle body; obnoxious to all the elements; subject to the most trifling accidents from without; and a continual prey to the overgrowth or defect of every humour and complexion from within: nay, even in the support of life itself, we are betrayed by *intemperance* into the very jaws of death, and made a prey to the most dire and excruciating diseases. And if, haply, by the peculiar felicity of *fortune*, or a more robust frame of *constitution*, we escape these disasters and evils of our nature, yet, in the fleeting period of 70 or 80 years, *humanity itself* gives way, and falls a victim to inexorable

Time; whose approaches, when least rugged, bring with them the most disgraceful ravages on our frame and faculties; a decrepid body and an enfeebled mind, still more and more assimilating us to that *earth* to which, in our descent towards it, we are so *fast* returning.*

The *natural* or *inflicted debility* of the *human mind* still affords us further matter for the profoundest humiliation. Its *agency*, in which consists the *excellence* of man, lies in *judging* and *willing:* and as these operations of the mind are well or ill performed, we rise in knowledge and virtue, or sink into vice and error.

But the history and experience of all ages have shewn us how unable *unassisted* man is, either to discover truth, or to discharge his duty. The most evident of all *truths* is the being of *one God*, the Creator and Governor of the Universe; yet by sad and shameful experience it appears, that, from the most early ages of a degenerate world to this present, no nation or people, whether barbarous or civil, by the mere exercise of *reason*, assisted with all their *senses*, could ever discover this most notorious and sensible of all truths; but, instead of the God *in whom we live, and move, and have our*

* A melancholy interest is given to this fine passage by the consideration that, for more than two years before his death, the powerful mind of its author was reduced to the distressing state he here so forcibly describes.—EDIT.

being,* who is incessantly working for our preservation *in*, near, and round about us, they transferred their worship, and bowed down in divine adoration to the memories of *miserable man*, to beasts, to insects, to stocks, to stones, and shadows.

And while the original and foundation of all duty, GOD the Creator and Preserver, thus remained unknown, we can hardly believe man less unhappy in his *practice*, than in his creed; for the *will* and *understanding* always affect and influence one another. And here again the history of mankind informs us, that what St. Paul affirms of his own age and time, was true of all; that when men had changed the glory of the incorruptible God to an image made like to corruptible man, as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, He gave them over to a reprobate mind, to the contagion of all those unnatural crimes which follow in the Apostle's catalogue.

So that this miserable condition of benighted man, which made those who had received the light of the Gospel so proud and vain, ought rather to have been the subject of their deepest *humiliation*: if, especially, they had considered that *this light* had discovered to them circumstances still more mortifying to human pride; such as the sudden fall of man from life and immortality to death and

* Acts, xvii. 28.

misery, by the silliest and least excusable of all transgressions. And when the time was come for his restoration to his lost inheritance by the death and passion of Christ, such has God declared to be our miserable incapacity of keeping what we were again restored to, on the old condition of an inviolable *obedience* to his command, that he graciously changed the terms of this restored *free gift of immortality* into faith in his blessed Son; something to be *believed* instead of something to be *practised;* which, in this wise age, is held by many to be a condition still too hard.

All this, as it must needs raise and inflame our gratitude to the sole Author of all good, so it cannot, when duly thought upon, but induce us to abate proportionably in the high opinion of ourselves, mortify human pride, and draw us into that wholesome discipline of *humility* which reason and religion concur to tell us is so proper for our station.

But the glorious example of the blessed Author of our redemption ought most strongly to dispose us to the exercise of the virtue of humility. When the Son of God condescended to assume the abject condition of our nature, he subjected himself in all things to the dishonour of that degrading state, and in his whole deportment and conversation adapted himself to the infirmities of that humanity which he was sent to redeem. Now, in the exercise of all those virtues of which he gave so perfect a pattern, none shone with more distin-

guished lustre than his *humility*; manifesting itself in a *lowly birth*; in *voluntary poverty*; in *the patient bearing of injuries*, and contradiction of sinners; in popular reproach; and in familiar converse with the most despised of his countrymen.

Now, if the blessed Jesus thought this a conduct best suited to that nature which he was pleased to partake with us, though partaking of it in its best condition, in a *freedom from sin*, and ennobling it with the highest dignity, the joining it in *strict union with the Divinity*; what ought to be our sentiments of lowliness of mind! miserable dust and ashes as we are! obnoxious in each *motion* to every *natural*, and in each sentiment to every *moral* evil. *Here* it is we should chiefly labour to show ourselves the disciples of a crucified Saviour; divest ourselves of every vain and swelling imagination; and be possessed with a true and lasting sense of our miserable insignificancy and emptiness.

Nor is the *use* of this virtue of humility less considerable than its *reasonableness* and *expediency*. The immediate fruits of our holy religion in this vale of misery are TRUTH and PEACE; and these no Christian virtue so largely contributes to promote as *humility*.

The great impediments to *truth* are the irascible passions and appetites. *Vanity* keeps us in ignorance, through the empty conceit of knowing

already: pride makes us adopt our own prejudiced fancies for truths: and *obstinacy* keeps us enslaved both to our *ignorance* and our errors. Now all these obstacles *humility* does not *barely remove;* but, by inculcating to us the sense of human blindness, quickens our industry and application; makes us cautious what we embrace for truth; diffident of its evidence, and always ready disposed to have its foundations examined and reviewed: qualities without which no real knowledge or advancement in truth can be expected.

Human peace (the other fruit of *humility)* is disturbed and violated, either by *unfavourable appearances* in the dispensations of Providence; or by the misfortunes and miseries we ourselves labour under.

The ways of Providence are at present dark and intricate. We frequently see good men afflicted, and the bad prosperous, and, in appearance, happy; a dispensation too apt to create doubts and difficulties in the minds of the observers; and, if they feel themselves affected, to raise disquiets and murmurs against the order of things; and sometimes even to [make them] distrust the sovereign support and Protector of our being: a state of mind the most terrible and accursed. Now *humility* is the instant cure of these disquiets; it makes us sensible of our folly in pretending to judge of God's government, from the utter impossibility of comprehending or conceiving the *na-*

ture and *extent* of His dominion. *Reason*, at the same time, discovering, by the clearest evidence, His justice and goodness, *humility* will distrust its own suspicions, condemn them as false and groundless, and, with full assurance, conclude that all we see or feel *is for the best*, and with perfect peace and confidence repose itself under the shadow of the Almighty.

Humility will have the same efficacy in supporting us under the misfortunes and miseries to which human life is subject; for, how severely soever the hand of God may lie upon us, we shall then understand it to be far short of our demerits: and when we reflect it is the hand of God upon his *servants*, the professors of the *religion of his Son*, we shall understand it is either the salutary trial and exercise of our *virtue*, or a fatherly correction for our *follies*. And thus humility will produce *patience*, that *celestial balm of hurt minds*, which takes out the sting of all natural evil, and preserves the sufferer in that divine state of peace *which passeth all understanding*.*

But human peace is chiefly violated by our own mutual follies; and of this violation humility is the most certain preventive, as it neither *gives* nor *lightly takes* offence. Humility, which never sets itself in competition with others, cuts off all the provocations which men have to invade the fame,

* Phil. iv. 7.

the fortune, or the pursuits of their neighbours; from whence arise almost all the quarrels and dissensions amongst men. On the contrary, the *humble man* thinking *lowly* of himself, and, consequently, *charitably* of his neighbour (for having no rivalship with others he has no prejudices against them), he gains the good will and ready assistance of all men.

Thus is humility (besides its *propriety* and *fitness* for the *abject state of humanity)* the largest source of *truth* and *peace*—the two greatest blessings here *below*, and the necessary preparation for our happiness *above*.

SERMON II.

CHRISTIAN OBEDIENCE.

[Preached before the Princess, Oct. 17, 1756.]

1 John, c. ii. v. 4.

He that saith I know Him, and keepeth not His commandments, is a li ar, and the truth is not in him.

It appears from the literal meaning of these words, that the persons here hinted at and condemned, were not such as transgressed the commandments of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, in the ordinary way of sinners, through the weakness and inability of our corrupt nature; but such as neglected and despised those commands upon false principles of a superior knowledge. And, in fact, we understand from the history of the primitive times, that there was a sect or heresy in the Christian Church, called the *Gnostics*, or *Knowers*, who pretended to a more profound knowledge of the *nature of God*, and the constitution of things; and under these false presumptions ran into all kinds of impious and wicked practice. Against these, then, the Apostle's invective is here directed.—"He that saith I know Him, and keepeth not His commandments, is a liar."

The words contain this proposition: that these transgressors of the commandments of Jesus, falsely arrogate to themselves a superior knowledge of their Lord and Master, while they are entirely ignorant of him;—which I shall now endeavour to shew.

I. There are three ways of coming to the knowledge of Christ: by his nature;—by his works in the flesh;—and by his operations through the Holy Spirit. Now it will appear that whoever hath attained a knowledge of God by any of these three ways, can never fall into the erroneous opinion, that He will dispense with his followers for neglecting or violating His commandments: and that, consequently, whoever thinks he may do so with impunity, whatever boasts he may make of his superior knowledge in religion, is, indeed, entirely ignorant of it.

1. If we search the Scriptures for a knowledge of Christ *by his nature*, we shall find that St. John calls him the *Word*, and assures us that that *Word was God*. St. Paul, in his epistle to the Ephesians, says, that God hath given to Jesus the highest dominion, *and hath put all things under his feet*.* Which shews that, together with this dominion, and final judicature, the Father hath conferred upon, and imparted to the Son, all his

* Heb. c. ii. v. 8.

communicable attributes. Now if from the nature of the *Divinity* we can collect, as we certainly may, that God will exact of man a strict observance of his will and commandments, (his attributes not suffering Him to indulge men in sin and wickedness,) then we must needs conclude that his only begotten Son Jesus, who is partaker of these *attributes*, and the delegate of that rule and dominion, requires the same obedience to *His* will. The consequence therefore is, that he who transgresses this will, and yet believes himself in favour with his Lord and Master, is entirely ignorant of Him.

2. With regard to Jesus's works in the flesh. He was ordained by the Father to be the propitiation for the sins of the world, by offering himself a sacrifice on the cross, as a ransom for our redemption. And had this been a perfectly free and unconditional mercy, that was *all* our Redeemer had to do upon earth; but, as *repentance* and a consequent good life were as necessary as faith to entitle us to this salvation, He was graciously pleased to provide for *that* likewise, not only by his *Preaching*, but by the *example* of his life and conversation; in the course of which, He put in perfect practice every *divine*, and *social* and human virtue. Now why was this condescension in the Son of God, to dwell amongst us, and to converse with miserable man, if not to promote and enforce the *observance of his will*,

by setting us an example and perfect pattern of obedience to the Divine commands? Whoever, therefore, thinks himself at liberty to transgress this will and command, and yet pretends himself a true disciple of Christ, doth not know Him by *his works in the flesh:* and, therefore, under this view, likewise, is a *liar*, when he says *he knows Him.*

3. But further, Jesus, to secure the observance of his commands, and the interests of virtue, had no sooner finished this perfect copy of his example, but, on leaving the world, He sent, as he had before promised, *the Comforter*, the Holy Spirit; whose principal office it was, to cleanse and purify the hearts of his followers from all the corruption of sin, and to prepare them for the culture and exercise of all kind of purity and virtue. Thus St. James describes Him, "*the wisdom that is from above, is first pure—full of mercy and good fruits.*"* Now, this divine person being sent into the hearts of the faithful, in order to enable them to perform the commandments of their Lord and Master, sufficiently declares his mind, with regard to the obedience He expects from his followers. Whoever, therefore, wilfully neglects his commands on a presumption that they do nothing displeasing to Him, do not *know* Him by the operations of the Holy

* James, c. iii. v. 17.

Spirit, and, in the words of my text, are liars, when they say they do.

II. But the common practice of sinners is less philosophical, though not less absurd, than that of the ancient Gnostics; and they discover their ignorance of their Lord and Master in all the three ways above explained, and may be properly divided into as many classes.

1. The first and foremost in ignorance are those who know not Jesus, even so much as by his nature; and venture to transgress his commands by one or other of these absurd conceits; such as, 1. Those who hope to keep their actions hid from Him. These must be entirely ignorant of that divine attribute, his *Omniscience.* 2. Others there are, who think He careth not for man, neither is man in all His thoughts. But these are plainly ignorant of that attribute, his *goodness;* which the Psalmist thinks manifests itself most illustriously in his care and kindness to man. "*For Thou hast made him, says he, little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.*"* 3. Again there are others who think human actions indifferent to him. And these appear quite ignorant of his eternal rectitude and purity. Holy Job says, "*Behold even to the moon, and it shineth not; yea the stars are not pure in His sight.*"† 4. Others, again,

* Psalm, c. viii. v. 5. † Job, c. xxv. v. 5.

transgress his commandments in an idle fancy, that He has his *favourites,* whom He will indulge in sin; and that they themselves are in the number of such favourites, which shews them ignorant of his eternal *equity.* God tells his people by the law, "*Ye shall not respect persons in judgment;*"* and the reason given is, *for the judgment is God's;* that is, the judges were his delegates, and therefore should act according to his measures; whose character it is, to be no respecter of persons.—Lastly, there are those who keep not his commandments on a vain presumption that He is all-merciful, and will pardon and forgive indiscriminately; and these shew their ignorance of that great attribute, His *eternal justice.* The Apostle says, our God is a consuming fire; and St. Paul, that God will render to every man according to his deeds.

2. The next in ignorance are those who sin on a supposition that the Gospel is a *Dispensation of free grace,* and requires nothing on our parts but a mere acceptance of it; which will "*renew a right spirit within us,*"† while the heart remains full of corruption and vice. And these evidently declare they know not their master in his works; for these consisted in the practice of all human virtues during his *life,* for an

* Deuteronomy, c. i. v. 17. † Psalms, li. v. 10.

example to his followers; and in offering himself an atonement and sacrifice at his *death*, for the sins of the whole world. Now it will appear from both these parts of his works, that He expects a strict obedience to all his commandments. For, 1. what other possible cause can be assigned of his thus exemplifying in a long course of action his perfect obedience to the whole *will* of *God*, than his intention that we should have the same regard to *his*; so that being graciously pleased to lighten our task, he set us this all-perfect example to direct and encourage us in our work. 2. His death for the sins of mankind more directly declared the intention of God in exacting a full obedience to its commands. For if sin and iniquity were so heinous to the divinity, that nothing but the sacrifice of the Son of God could make atonement for them, it is the highest absurdity to suppose them to be less heinous in their nature, *after* the atonement than before. On the contrary, when the price of expiation has been so high, it is reasonable to think the strongest provision should be made, that this price be not paid in vain by a second lapse into general sin and corruption.

3. The last in ignorance are those who pretend they have endeavoured and would fain perform the whole command of Jesus; but are utterly unable by the inability, weakness, and

corruption of their nature. Now these evidently show they know not Jesus by his operations through the Holy Spirit, the Comforter; whom after his ascension, He sent amongst them; and who from that time through every age of the Church has left such illustrious marks of His office in the hearts of the faithful, whose minds He has illuminated, purified, and strengthened against the attacks of error, the flesh, and the evil one; so as to leave all the followers of Jesus inexcusable when they make this complaint.

But if sinners, notwithstanding all that can be said to them, will still persist in pretending to know Him, their Lord and Master, while they still continue in their vices, and go on in the transgression of His will, this knowledge will be of very little service, since He has declared that *He* will not *know them;* when he says to those who had no "*oil in their lamps,*"* or no obedience in their lives, and yet in confidence of their *knowledge* of Him, or their *faith* in Him, expected to be received into His rest; "*verily I say unto you, I know you not.*"

With all our *knowledge*, therefore, let us at length condescend to be taught better by the Gospel we pretend to follow. St. Peter assures us that "*God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless us;*"† but then he tells us on

* Matthew, c. xxv. v. 4.

† Acts, c. iii. v. 26.

what terms only this blessing is to be obtained, viz., *by turning every one of us from our iniquities*. Or if we will not learn this, we shall be forced to acknowledge at least the just condemnation in my text; "*He that saith I know Him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.*"

SERMON III.

NATIONAL CORRUPTION.

[Preached before the King, October 16, 1757.]

PSALM xiv. 1.

THE FOOL HATH SAID IN HIS HEART THERE IS NO GOD. THEY ARE CORRUPT; THEY HAVE DONE ABOMINABLE WORKS; THERE IS NONE THAT DOETH GOOD.

This is the horrid picture the Psalmist draws of his own times; where we find impiety and immorality go hand in hand to desolate the community: the thoughts of their hearts were *foolish*, and all their works *abominable*.

But which of them went foremost,—whether it was the want of religion that corrupted their morals, or the want of virtue that gave birth to their impious principles, he does not tell us. Nor is it of much moment, since whichever leads, the other is sure to follow. The *vicious* man, for his own ease, encourages himself in concluding that there is no moral Governor of the world; and the *impious* man takes advantage of his freedom from the restraints of religion to indulge himself in the gratification of all his vicious appetites.

I shall therefore presume to speak of this character of *national corruption*, as it lies in my text,

and as it appears in our own times both in *principle* and *practice.*

The fool hath said in his heart there is no God. The *folly* we see is of ancient standing, yet in the number of those which time and experience, one should have hoped, would have cured or abated: for what can be conceived more powerful to make even *fools* wise to salvation than a long and illustrious history of God's providence, at some seasons exerting itself in an extraordinary manner in the reward of virtue and the punishment of vice, and, at other times, in the *ordinary* way, by the beauteous and artful pre-establishment of natural and moral laws, which always concur and incessantly cooperate to produce good out of evil, and to make both good and evil the necessary consequence of virtuous and vicious practice?

And, without doubt, time and experience would have had their effect, had this folly been the issue only of mistaken *reasoning;* for this every accession of evidence to the opposite truth would have tended to set right.

But this was not the case; the *folly* in my text had a different original. *The fool said* IN HIS HEART *there is no God;* that is, he had been led to his absurd conclusions against religion by the blind impulse of his vicious passions; for the ancients supposed the *heart* to be the spring and fountain of all the inordinate appetites and affections.

In polite and vicious ages like the present, where every blessing is abused, and among the first, that greatest blessing LIBERTY, all the improvements of the mind, as well as all the accommodations for the body, are perverted into a species of *luxury*, and exercised as an amusement to the gratification of the fancy or the appetites. Hence even the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, the science of nature itself, bows to this general abuse. It is made to act against itself, and to support those impieties it was intended to redress.

The largest source of this impious *folly* is VANITY—the lightest of the passions, and ever uppermost in a corrupted heart.

This operates variously, according to the station and condition of him whom it possesses.

If the man makes any pretensions to learning, it is to do honour to his high acquirements that he renounces his Maker, and despises the religion of his country. Great things, he supposes, are expected from his eminence in knowledge, and if all ends in confirming the *belief of the vulgar*, he is afraid of suffering in his character. This is the vanity of the *fine scholar*.

The vanity of the *fine gentleman*, with an equal appetite for fame, shines in a more familiar province. He *says in his heart*, religion is a cheat, because, in a dissolute age like this, it is the FASHION to say so; and the authority of *blue ribbon* affords him the same assurance that the fine scholar has

in the astronomer's zodiac. These, indeed, are the more reclaimable sort of *fools*—I do not mean from their folly in general, but from this particular species of it, their impiety; for let it once become the mode to *believe in God* (I do not say and *to serve Him)*, and we shall soon see the *fine gentleman* the first in the *fashion;* which directs us to a truth that deserves our most serious attention; the great service those men might do (if they would) to society, who by their rank and station are entitled to *lead* the fashion, and who are generally armed with the administration of the salutary laws of society, to make others *follow.*

Vanity, the fruitful source of *impiety,* appears next, in a form as absurd as the last is ridiculous—I mean in the *man of paradox,* who calls in question the most reverenced principles of society, out of the mere wanton love of mischief,—a certain perversity in our corrupt nature, which delights to give the alarm, and to enjoy the disorders it occasions; who, like that other *fool* stigmatized in sacred scripture, *scatters about his poison and his firebrands, and says, am I not in jest?**

But men's wicked lives, and the uncomfortable retrospect of their past actions, are certainly amongst the more general causes of this impious language of the *heart.* Religion, though full of consolation to the good, yet turns a stern and threatening aspect on the wicked; so that their refuge from its terrors is their persuasion of its

* Prov. xxvi. 18.

falsehood; and though the *annihilation of the soul* be but a melancholy prospect, at which nature shudders and revolts, yet it is a relief, when compared with the comminations of religion; and extinction of being has its charms when set against the *terrors of the Lord.* It is *ease*, then, which is only sought for in this system of infidelity: and what *ease* from *instant* pain requires, the understanding is generally complaisant enough to acquiesce in. You will say, there is a much better remedy; which is, to disarm divine vengeance by a speedy reformation of our lives and manners,—and so says Reason likewise; but how feeble is the voice of Reason when she strives against the inveterate habits of passion!

Such has been the rise and progress of this ancient folly, as it now again re-appears in our own days. Nor are we to think that these *corrupt principles* would come now unattended with what hath been hitherto their inseparable companion—*corrupt morals.*

It would not suit the time or occasion to give a minute detail of *modern manners;* but it may be allowed me just to present you with a summary view of those three characteristic vices which distinguish each state and condition of life amongst us.

A mad rage for pleasure has, in the higher ranks in society, conciliated two very opposite and unfriendly passions—I mean AVARICE and PRO-

FUSION; and made these so different appetites, which till now kept at the most hostile distance, to have a quiet residence in the same breast; and, what is stranger still, by means of that great reconciler GAMING, to make them settle on the same object; or, at least, in this amusement it is that they exert their joint powers over the miserable victims of their tyranny. Other species of luxury, such as loaded tables, splendid equipage, and fantastic dress, sap and undermine social happiness by slower and more insensible degrees. This of *gaming* rushes over it like a torrent, and gives neither leisure nor warning for escape: the duties both of public and private life are neglected, conjugal happiness destroyed, and the family obnoxious to it desolated as with a pestilence.

If luxury make such ravages in the higher stations of life, LICENTIOUSNESS has advanced with equal strides amongst the *middle ranks* of people. All respect for our superiors, all reverence for our governors, seem now to be at an end. No station however exalted,—no order however venerable,—no character however virtuous and disinterested—can secure men from the malice of wicked libellers. They pollute the courts of justice, they violate the senate, and profane even the altar. Hence the torrent of lying and incendiary pamphlets which poison the general manners, disturb domestic peace, and cherish civil faction.

A beastly intemperance in the use of spirituous liquors makes the same ravage in the lowest ranks that luxury and gaming do in the higher. Both aim at that supreme blessing, *a life of dissipation*, and each has its respective attendant, *ruined fortune* and a *diseased body*. But here lies the difference; property transferred is not *lost* to the public; but the general health destroyed brings ruin on society. Hence we may understand how Government without much other injury than of *private morals*, may connive at the vice of *gaming*, since its direct and immediate effect is only the transferring property from one worthless set of hands to another—generally from fools to knaves; but the commission of daily murders by the use of spirituous liquors is cutting away the very nerves of society, and desolating the community.

These are the three characteristic vices, each of which is peculiar to the three ranks of men amongst us. But there is one which is common to them all, and goes under the more general name of CORRUPTION; which consists not (as it did of old, and in its ordinary course,) in *preferring* our own private interests to the interests of the public, but in advancing our own private interests *at the expense* of the public; the several branches of which being now formed into a system, it is become almost as difficult to *detect* as to reform.

Such is the depraved state of the general manners; a people turbulent and servile, mutinous

and corrupt; impatient in want, improvident in abundance; and equally unawed by the wrath of Providence or the laws of society:—evils which have now driven us on the very brink of the precipice. Here the most inconsiderate must take the alarm, and the most profligate be forced to stop.

We have fallen into our distresses by the wanton abuse of God's two greatest blessings, *civil liberty* and *the religion of Jesus*. In the days of sunshine and prosperity the rank weeds of *license* and *impiety* sprung up, and have laid waste and desolated the *heart*. But now it will be expected of us, unless we be content to become the scorn and outcasts of mankind, that calamity and distress should do their proper office, and by their severe but wholesome discipline restore sobriety and recollection to the giddy and dissipated mind.

Let us, at length, attend to the common dictates of reason and religion; let the libertine shake off his impiety as a hideous dream, and let the gay victim of his vanity and his pleasure fly to the horns of the altar,—to that only support of miserable humanity, RELIGION. For sure, we should not (after having abused all God's *former* blessings) abuse this *last* of them, his *fatherly correction*, likewise, and suffer *adversity* to harden our hearts, instead of amending our ways, when it has that salutary and sovereign use to restore the decayed powers of piety and *virtue*: which, &c. &c.

SERMON IV.

FRUITS OF SIN.

[Preached at Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 8. 1746—7.]

ROM. vi. 21.

WHAT FRUIT HAD YE THEN OF THOSE THINGS, WHEREOF YE ARE NOW ASHAMED?

Christian Religion hath discovered to us, for reasons unknown to philosophy, that sin and wickedness are the absolute disgrace and degradation of our nature.

But the Apostle's purpose in my text was to remind his followers, that the practice of it was before found as *unprofitable*, as it was now seen to be *dishonourable*. *What* FRUIT (says he) *had ye* THEN *in those things whereof ye are* NOW *ashamed?* implying that vice and immorality produced fruits very different from the expectations of its deluded victims. And this truth the whole history of mankind confirms.

Happiness is the natural and necessary aim of all rational beings; but in pursuit of this great end, men, partly from the constitution of their faculties, and partly from the disadvantage of their situation, are very apt to be fatally misled. The deluded votaries of *happiness* seeking for it either

in *ambition* or *pleasure*, as the vivacity of their *mental* or the vigour of their *corporeal* faculties happen differently to excite them; the schemes of *ambition* being carried on by *injustice*, and those of pleasure by *luxury*. Under this view, therefore, it is, that we are to examine what fruits these mistaken species of happiness are wont to produce.

First, then, to consider the issue of *ambition* carried on by injustice, whether its object be *power* or riches. Let us examine the former, even in its most favourable state, then, when it has attained what it aimed at; whether it be by circumventing *particulars* through false insinuations, or the *public* through false pretences;—whether it be by pretended zeal for the prince's service, or clamour for the people's liberty.

The ambitious man is now possessed of the power he aspired to: but he is still as far from his *end*, the quiet enjoyment of it, as when he first set out. He has raised up in his road to it several powerful enemies, become more free and implacable by his success. If in his way to power he rose by circumventing the rivals of his views, his enemies are *personal:* and amongst such, there is no relaxation or remission. If by deserting the confederacy of a faction, his enemy then is a *party*, which if less violent than the other, is much more formidable and lasting. These, by traversing all his schemes and designs,

make the exercise of his power uneasy and bitter to him; which frequently ends in his destruction.

But suppose him superior to all opposition: yet as he maintains his power by the same evil arts by which he procured it, he will become the object of general odium and aversion; the public growing still more and more inflamed by his successful support of his power. He will see his fame and reputation mangled by the clamours and libels of the populace; which, to an ambitious man, will be the cruellest of mortifications. For that turn of mind which inspires men with ambition, makes them most sensible of their fame and glory. But the punishment will not stop here; his very eminence will convey him down in all these odious colours to posterity, and perpetuate his ignominy to future ages. And as much a phantom as this is, it is no more so than the popular breath of his contemporaries, which was one of the principal ends for which he laboured through so much opposition and misery; and which consequently we must suppose him equally to feel.

But ambition has rarely the lot of this splendid misery. Its whole course is commonly spent in buffeting with adverse weather, which still keeps it from its desired port. For the storms of ambition drive from all quarters: and though it be the first principle of this adventurer to veer

and tack about with every wind, yet the perpetual counterblasts of court-intrigues, often frustrate all the endeavours of the most skilful and experienced pilot. How miserably, therefore, must the life of such an one be spent, who has neither justice for his card, nor true wisdom for his compass—to see the flattering and delusive land always in view, and when now his weather-beaten bark was just in the entrance, to be still unable to gain the port; being one while drawn into the eddy of popular faction, and another while stranded by the ebb of court desertion!

These are the *fruits* of irregular ambition, when pursued with abilities *fitted* to the attainment of its mistaken end. But very oft we see men aspire to be *knaves* in *high* places, whom nature has made *fools* in *low;* and, without any other pretence to success than want of conscience, stand candidates for contempt and beggary. So that by such time as public assemblies grow tired of making them their sport, their creditors are waiting for the expiration of their privileges.

The *love of money* is the other branch of ambition, though of the mongrel spurious kind. This has not so much as the faint appearance of any thing great or noble, but betrays its baseness at first sight. Now if to the weary labour of getting, the restless anxiety of keeping, and the evil conscience that accompanies both, you add, as the certain lot of the avaricious man, the

curses of the poor and oppressed, and the ridicule and contempt of all the world besides,—the cruellest tyrant could not invent for those he most hated, torments so cruel as this wretch brings upon himself in his mistaken pursuits after happiness.

The fruits of pleasure when placed in *luxury*, are no less bitter, where mistaken happiness is pursued either in *intemperance* or *lasciviousness*.

The fruits of intemperance are every disorder of the mind and body. The intimate union of these two constituent parts of man, and the nature of that union, in which the body supplies the mind with the instruments and organs for exerting its operations, must needs occasion the mind's being affected with whatever happens to the body. Hence, when the spirits, by intemperance, are over-loaded, and the vigour of their tone weakened, the understanding must needs become dull and clouded, and incapable of exerting its natural abilities of discernment, and listless and indisposed to exercise them. Hence many of those errors in human conduct, which draw after them a train of adversities. Again, when intemperance has heated and inflamed the blood, that unnatural ferment must needs irritate the irascible passions, and betray the man into all the excesses of rage, enmity, and resentment, whose fatal effects need not to be particularly enumerated.

But the greatest havoc intemperance makes is of the body itself, as the immediate parent of those horrible diseases that most deform and excruciate the human frame.

Now, with a mind and body thus debased and broken, what an additional torment must the reflection be, to every naturally ingenuous, not to say religious temper, that he hath by these empty follies of intemperance, rendered himself incapable of discharging his duty in the free exercise of his mental and corporeal faculties in that station in which Providence hath placed him; and utterly unable to answer those moral calls which every one related to him, either by nature or society, whether civil or domestic, have upon him. While he finds himself useless to those he was ordained to assist; a burden to those he was ordained to ease; and a disgrace and scandal to those whom his good example should have adorned and instructed.

With regard to *unlawful pleasures*, called so from their more *immediate* mischiefs to society, they do not bring less upon the unhappy followers of them. As to the brutality of vague lust, it carries its own punishment along with it, in disorders too horrid to be mentioned.—And unlawful cohabitation has, at best, all the inconveniences of *ill-assorted* marriage, in a lavish, haughty, and unfaithful mistress; who, too, having none of the ties of conjugal relation to engage

her in a concern for his personal or domestic happiness, considers him as one she has a right to make a prey of; if it were only for the injury he has brought upon her virtue and her honour. A reflection, which he himself cannot fail frequently to *make;* and, if he has any remains of justice, or even of generosity, *severely to feel.* For the seduction of innocence, the violation of virtue, the grief brought upon distressed parents, and dishonour on an honest family, are crimes of the most inhuman kind.

But if the object of his licentious passion draws him still deeper into *adultery*, he must, while he is pursuing his purpose, add to the foregoing bitter *fruits*, all the anxiety and danger of discovery, from a view of ignominious law-suits, and a ruined reputation. And suppose him to have safely attained his end, the stings and remorse of conscience, if he has any remaining, will incessantly torment him; for the most outrageous injustice that man in society can commit against his neighbour, is polluting the marriage bed; destroying the comforts and happiness of domestic life; and violating the rights of families, by introducing into them a polluted and a spurious issue.

These are the fruits of sin; of *ambition* and of *pleasure;*—and these may be all summed up in anxiety, toil, fatigue, disappointment, public odium, private aversion and contempt, debility of mind,

diseases, the torment of remorse, dishonour, and evil fame to late posterity.

Thus, natural reason and common experience were sufficient of themselves, to shew men that vice and immorality are destructive of our happiness: but Revelation has gone further in the support of virtue; and shewn us that they are the disgrace and scandal of our nature—"*those things* (as the Apostle calls them) *whereof we are now ashamed.*" For those things which, in reality, or in opinion, bring *dishonour*, are such, and such only, as *make ashamed.* And whatever things are discordant to, or unworthy of, our character, *dishonour* us.

But Revelation has discovered that vice and immorality are altogether discordant to, and unworthy of, our nature: and this, by revealing to us the high dignity of human original, the worth and value of our condition, and the honours and privileges with which it is endowed.

And first, with regard to our *original.* Holy Scripture assures us that *man* was the last great work of the Creator; ordained to have *dominion* over the rest; and, to fit him for that high station, was made in *his own image*, after his *likeness:* words importing the most exalted dignity of nature, and the nearest relation that a creature can stand in to its Creator. To such a being, so related, *vice* and *impurity* must be most opposite and disgraceful; and which, when we suffer its residence with us, must needs, on our reflecting

on the *image and likeness* we have the honour to bear, confound and shame us even to death. That we, who deduce our origin from the very fountain of *purity*, should ally ourselves to filth and corruption, must surely affect us with the most intolerable shame.

Again, Scripture informs us that when man had thus dishonoured his nature, and had degraded himself from his high original; had forfeited life and immortality, and sunk into death and corruption, by becoming leagued and confederated with vice, God, in compassion to his fallen creature, restored him to favour, but at the price of the death and suffering of his ONLY SON, who, to make atonement for the sins of mankind, voluntarily offered himself a sacrifice to the offended Majesty of Heaven. This is a still further proof of the dignity of human nature, which God, rather than suffer to be lost, thought fit to redeem at so inestimable a price. But by sinking back into corruption, by returning to all the disorders of our corrupt nature, we not only *crucify the Lord of life afresh*,* but, if we have any sentiments of gratitude remaining, any reflection or understanding, we *bring ourselves to open shame*, and cannot but be deeply affected with the disgraceful ignominy of our condition.

But *Religion* has further ennobled the *regenerated* man, by making humanity the receptacle of the *Holy Spirit*.

* Heb. c. vi. v. 6.

This is the doctrine of our Holy Religion.

Now what greater dishonour and shame can affect the serious Christian, than to defile the purity of this temple of the living God by beastly lusts and intemperance. *Know you not* (says the Apostle Paul) *that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.**

From what has been said, then, we may collect the superior advantage of our Holy Religion, above the teaching of the law of nature. This law, indeed, acquaints us with what is right and fit, and the conclusions of reason, from experience and the nature of things, that it is our interest to obey its dictates. But our Holy Religion, besides this, which it equally enforces, adds all the strongest motives capable of subduing the *will*: such as the highest sanctions of rewards and punishments hereafter; and at present the strongest impulses in the human breast, which are *honour* and *shame*. Which, that they may have their due influence, God, &c.

* 1 Cor. c. vi. v. 15.

SERMON V.

BAD PRINCIPLES AND BAD PRACTICE.

[Preached at Lincoln's Inn, May 13, 1750.]

1 Cor. xv. 32.

BE NOT DECEIVED: EVIL COMMUNICATIONS CORRUPT GOO MANNERS.

Those particular branches of luxury and vice to which some times or some people are more inordinately given, are the effects of prevalent constitution, or of strong ungovernable passions; but a general pursuit of that species of pleasure which we call AMUSEMENTS, when become the great business of men's lives, can be only owing to CORRUPT PRINCIPLES, or a false estimate of human life.

Where either luxury, violence, or injustice prevail, we truly ascribe them to lust, ambition, or avarice; but when the aim is only to pass through life with as little *serious reflection* as possible, and for that end, to be always in *amusements*, in which *reason* is no further used than to *direct* their elegance, nor the *senses* further indulged than just to *taste* their poignancy, we can assign *this* only to certain irreligious principles which terminate the whole being of man to this *present life*.

The natural and almost necessary consequence of such opinions is, that we ought to make the MOST of the short space allotted to us, and indulge ourselves in all such pleasures as may be LONGEST enjoyed; that is, in such as *least* injure the health; and these are they to which we have given the name of AMUSEMENTS. This is the fashionable system both in principle and practice, and to this our whole country seems at present to be given up. Nature differs nothing from itself: the great principles of human action are the same in all times and places. Wherever these impious and absurd opinions have gained ground, a correspondent practice will follow; and the reasonableness of it was thought so unquestioned, that one of the most ancient proverbs in the world was that which the Apostle quotes in the words preceding my text,—"*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die*," and which he ascribes to that abominable and brutal opinion, that our whole existence ends with this life; and adds,—"*Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners;*" as much as to say, the *folly* of your *practice* arises from the impiety of your *opinions*.

Ancient history informs us that this was the fact *then;* and we have the evidence of our senses to assure us that it is certainly the case *now*. What endeavours have been publicly used by evil men, whose practice could promise them nothing on the side of religion, to persuade us of the *uncertainty*, of

the *falsehood*,—nay, even of the *impossibility* of revealed religion! They did it without any animadversion on the part of the Magistrate, though in open defiance, not only to the *religion* of our country, but to good manners; — nay, what is more, to all the civil laws of the community.

This could not but have a bad effect on the generality; for, though animadversion and restraint might excite the impertinent curiosity of a few, yet the silence and unconcern of the Magistrate would naturally prejudice the bulk of the people in favour of writings where the established religion was insulted and attacked.

Not but this conduct of the Magistrate was grounded on wise and generous principles. The prosecution of such offenders being of a very delicate nature, if committed to the hands of *less expert*, or more *designing* men, might endanger both religious and literary liberty, two of the greatest blessings *freemen* can enjoy;—the civil Magistrate, therefore, had important reasons to withhold his hand, except when the outrage was excessive, and then we have sometimes seen it exerted with vigour.

However, though we have great reason to think ourselves happy under the lenity of a government which proceeds on such mild and provident principles, we cannot but see that it has accidentally concurred to the increase of the evil we are here speaking of. But this is the inevitable condition

of human things, in which no great good is to be obtained without some mixture of evil attending it.

This evil is now indeed grown enormous. Scepticism and disbelief of the religion of our country is become general, and has descended even to women, and the lowest mechanics; and it has now produced its natural fruits,—an universal dissipation, and unintermitting rage for constant pleasure and amusement.

Now, while the principle which gives birth to these disorders continues, it would be in vain to urge men with the *civil mischiefs* it produces; such as the poverty and distresses of particulars, and (what their wants will necessarily produce) danger and insecurity to the persons and effects of those who have anything to lose.

I shall, therefore, endeavour to expose the folly and madness of this strong propensity to irreligion and unbelief, which has so fatally infected every condition of life amongst us.

My text says, that "*evil communications corrupt good manners*,"—a truth confirmed by the universal experience of mankind, that BAD OPINIONS PRODUCE WICKED PRACTICE. Another observation common amongst us is no less true, that a wicked life gives birth to irreligious principles. But this is to be understood only of the heads and leaders in impiety: the bulk of its followers are such whom evil communications have corrupted. We know that the authors of the worst books against reli-

gion were bad men before they became bad writers; and we know, too, that the infection they spread abroad had been generally catched, before men became thus universally seized with this frantic rage for pleasure.

Let us therefore consider the *motives* by which they were deluded into their impiety and unbelief, together with the folly of their conduct. These writers are full of encomiums on the merit and virtue of detecting and casting off the vulgar prejudices of bigotry and superstition, and represent themselves as the restorers of common sense and freedom. This inflames their readers with the ambition of sharing with them in so glorious a cause, in which they find themselves become wiser than their fathers, and, what is more, a match for their teachers.

A still stronger propensity to this unnatural appetite for infidelity is the being in the fashion. They have been told (how truly I do not know) that few of the persons of condition believe; and when the common people hear this (who think they are, and indeed think truly, as well qualified to judge of these matters as their betters), they will be in the fashion too, on the same principle whereby they imitate those above them in common life, as far as their follies and their faculties can reach.

And now let me only add a word or two concerning the *folly* of this strange propensity to irreligion and impiety,—a propensity which shows

our *passions* and inclinations go much faster than our *reason* in the conclusions we make against the mystery of godliness.

We examine (whenever we do examine) the pretensions of the Gospel as if we *feared* to find them *true*, and *wished* for nothing more than that they may prove *false*.

By this one would imagine that religion was either an enemy to our private quiet, or to the public peace; that it either forbad us the use of those blessings which nature, by the gracious providence of God, hath bestowed upon us, or that it deprived us of the lawful means of reaping the benefits of wealth, grandeur, and power, which society is calculated to produce.

On the contrary, religion is the only means of procuring *inward peace*, by gaining us the love of God; and the only means of securing the *public quiet*, by instilling into men the fear of Him. It is so far from forbidding us the use of the gifts of nature, that it only directs us to the true means of *enjoying* them, by prescribing a *moderate* use of them; for by an *immoderate* use their enjoyment is presently lost. It is so far from being *unfriendly* to the benefits procured by society, that *it alone* supplies us with those principles by which only communities can become, and can long continue, great and flourishing.

By our prejudices against religion, strangers would imagine that the doctrines of it afforded us

the most *dismal* prospects of an *hereafter*, whereas, on the contrary, they give us such high and pleasing ideas of futurity as are able (and *they only* are able) to make us bear with content and cheerfulness all the infirmities and evils inseparable from miserable humanity.

Now, it is one of the first principles of our *nature*, that the higher the value of any thing is, the dearer it should be to us.

It is one of the first principles of *reason*, that the more important any supposed truth is to us, the *greater* evidence we should require of him who would persuade us of its falsehood.

At least, if we suffer ourselves to be persuaded to quit it, we should expect to be offered an *equivalent* in its stead.

But now the men proselyted to infidelity suffer themselves to be guided by *neither* of these considerations: they suffer themselves to be persuaded by slight conjectures, by difficulties which the busy wit of man may invent against religion, though there be, on the other side, the most solid arguments for the truth of it.

Again: the writers and propagators of infidelity give us nothing in lieu of that solid support of the human mind, and only lasting bond of civil community, *religion*. They take from us the God and Governor of the universe, and send us to a blind and unrelenting *nature*; they deprive us of

the *Redeemer of the world*, and leave us only vague *hope*, the last miserable delusion of the wretched.

This is a true representation of our case; and if this shows us the dreadful folly of our condition, what have we to do but to return to a better mind? All *nature* and *grace* invite us to it: the imminent destruction, both private and public, that must speedily overtake our present courses, and the encouragement this *reviled* and *rejected* religion gives us of the *returning* favour and blessings of God upon our *return* to him.

Men, when they have abandoned all serious sentiments of religion, soon begin to feel their forlorn and miserable condition. Hence it is that we now run so wildly from the torments of it to perpetual diversions and amusements. But these only inflame the evil, and instead of easing our *inward* distresses, only increase our *outward*, by lessening our industry and heightening our expenses. By this, too, the public suffers in its loss of trade and credit, by its effeminating the mind and debilitating the body; by its vitiating even our civil principles, and making us ready to hearken to any destructive counsels; till the loss of all *private* virtue has finished its progress in the loss of all *public*, and leaves us an easy prey to any foreign or domestic enemy who has designs upon our liberty.

On the other hand, to invite us to amendment, we have all that infinite mercy can hold out to us.

1st. The promise of pardon and full restoration to the favour of our offended Master upon the easiest terms,—"Faith in Jesus Christ and repentance towards God;"* that is, cordially believing that Jesus is the SON OF GOD and the Redeemer of mankind, and a hearty sorrow for, and detestation of, our sins, together with a sincere purpose of amendment. And,

2dly. To enlighten our understandings, and to rectify and support our wills in the prosecution of these virtuous purposes, we have the assistance of the HOLY SPIRIT, always at hand to those who call upon God through the mediation of his Blessed Son.

Which, that we may have the wisdom to use, &c.

* Acts, c. xx. v. 21.

SERMON VI.

CHARITY.

1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

THOUGH I SPEAK WITH THE TONGUES OF MEN AND OF ANGELS, AND HAVE NOT CHARITY, I AM BECOME AS SOUNDING BRASS OR A TINKLING CYMBAL.

AND THOUGH I HAVE THE GIFT OF PROPHECY, AND UNDERSTAND ALL MYSTERIES AND ALL KNOWLEDGE; AND THOUGH I HAVE ALL FAITH SO THAT I COULD REMOVE MOUNTAINS, AND HAVE NOT CHARITY, I AM NOTHING.

AND THOUGH I BESTOW ALL MY GOODS TO FEED THE POOR; AND THOUGH I GIVE MY BODY TO BE BURNED, AND HAVE NOT CHARITY, IT PROFITETH ME NOTHING.

The Apostle's admonitions in this chapter afford us a very melancholy and affecting instance of the miserable perversity of human nature. The Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, the Enlightener of the understanding, and the Purifier of the heart, promised to the faithful by our Blessed Redeemer on his leaving the world, never manifested himself by more illustrious marks of the Divine presence than amongst the faithful of the Church of Corinth, to whom this Epistle is addressed; such as the *gift of tongues*, the *interpretation of prophecies*,

the working of miracles, the most perfect disinterestedness, and the *most intrepid courage in persecution.*

Yet some of them, so richly gifted, instead of suffering the Divine Spirit to do His *perfect work*, in directing all those endowments to the enlargement of the heart by universal benevolence,—the good of mankind being the great scope to which our religion tends (for *the end of the commandment is charity ;)*—instead of this, I say, the too sensible consciousness of so many gifts and graces filled them with *spiritual pride*, whose property it is not to bear with those who differ from them, and to despise those who are beneath them in spiritual attainments.

Now this unhappy temper, not only rendering all their divine accomplishments vain and fruitless, but in the sense of unbelievers even reflecting dishonour on the operation of the Holy Spirit, the Apostle opposes it with much vigour, in setting out the necessity, the superior advantages, and the natural excellence of *charity*, above all other Christian graces whatsoever.

"*Though I speak* (says the Apostle) *with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.*"

He alludes to that miraculous gift with which the first preachers of the Gospel were endowed, in order to render the propagation of it amongst re-

mote and barbarous nations more speedy and effectual.

To the *tongues of men* the Apostle adds *and angels;* as much as to say, "even though this gift be further dignified with a particular message or revelation from heaven," yet, while unaccompanied with *charity,* the person so distinguished, as far as regards himself, becomes as *sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; alluding* to the mysterious Corybantine worship of the Pagans, which was ushered in with the brute sounds of brazen cymbals, and *meaning* that such a one partakes no more of the efficacy and benefits of the faith in Christ than that clamour is significative of a rational worship.

But my text goes still higher. *Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have not charity, I am nothing.* The first quality for the propagation of religion was the *gift of tongues,* to make himself understood; the next was, a perfect knowledge of that religion he was entrusted to teach; and this consisted in a thorough comprehension of the different natures of the two religions, and of their connection and dependance on one another, called by the Apostle the *gift of prophecy, and the understanding all mysteries and all knowledge.*

He yet proceeds. "And though I had *all faith that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.*" By *faith* is meant that supreme degree of Gospel faith that was then at-

tended with the power of working miracles, and alluding in the *expression* to that history in St. Matthew, who, when the disciples were unable to work a certain miracle to which they were called, tells us, that *Jesus said, it was because of their unbelief: for, verily I say unto you, had ye faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye should say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you.** Now with all these advantages, which are conceived to exalt human nature to the highest eminence, as most reflecting the image of the Creator in his attributes of *wisdom* and *power*, yet the holy Apostle declares, that, without *charity*, man is still the most insignificant of beings. If I have not charity, says he, *I am nothing.*

But he advances still higher. *And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor;* alluding to the practice of the first Christians; for, as we find it recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, "*as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet.*"†

He goes on. *And though I give my body to be burned;* that is, though I offer up myself a martyr in attestation of the faith; yet *if I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* For these were esteemed actions of the highest *merit;* and, when they are the fruits of charity and universal benevolence, certainly are so. But though they are commonly

* Matt. xvii. 20. † Acts, iv. 34.

mistaken for it, and, in our language, have usurped the very name of *charity*, they are as commonly another thing, and may be performed on motives very different from *charity*, and by him in whose bosom benevolence never entered.

This is a plain and literal exposition of my text; and from these words I shall endeavour to illustrate the following general propositions, which have their foundation in the more particular truths of it. That, in the absence of charity, the science of divinity becomes vain and useless; the *pure faith* void and inefficacious; and moral practice unamiable and unfruitful.

I. The science of divinity is the *discovery* and the *communication* of religious truth.

Let us see how both these are affected by want of charity.

Now, want of charity implies more than a mere absence of virtue; it implies the being possessed with those passions most contrary to its nature; such as selfishness, envy, resentment, and the like: for charity, the most instinctive of our appetites, never leaves the human breast till forced out and driven away by these hostile passions.

But these passions not only darken and obscure the understanding when in pursuit of religious truth, but likewise draw it devious from that pursuit to attend to their own partial views and projects.

For, agitated by their oblique interests, our

affections are drawn from *truth* to *opinions*. That is, we no longer aspire to the discovery of truth with an *indifference* as to the quarter in which it lies hid; but all our aim is to have our own *preconceived* opinions to be found *the truth*. This draws on that second impediment to the discovery of truth, which is the leaving the pursuit of it, and turning all our pains to the inculcating, defending, and establishing our own set of principles; which, instead of leading and advancing towards truth, most commonly recede farther and farther from it.

Hence it is that, in fact, so little advances have been made in *truth* after the labour of so many ages, with the assistance of so many great geniuses dedicated to this sacred work, and supported in it by long leisure and familiar converse in all ancient and modern knowledge.

But supposing truth to have forced itself into the acquaintance of a man devoid of charity, it yet remains with him barren and fruitless, and inefficacious in its communication to others.

To the successful propagation of truth there must be a concurrence in the good dispositions both of the *giver* and *receiver*. But both these are wanting where the propagator of truth is not actuated by the principle of charity.

The teacher, in such a case, being apt to deliver his instructions with pride, superiority, and an expectation of having them implicitly received.

And the learner receiving them with diffidence, prejudice, and indisposition.

So that, between both, the *communication of truth* becomes only the *source of discord.*

II. To come now to our second point, which is, that *without charity the pure faith becomes void and inefficacious.*

This faith is a belief in God. But religious belief consists in an act of the *heart*, as well as *understanding;* for *the Devils believe and tremble.** But the belief of the *elect* is attended with *love*, and not *fear;* because rational belief is grounded in a knowledge of the nature of its object, and God is the most amiable of beings: from whence ariseth *perfect love;* and that, the Apostle tells us, *casteth out fear.*†

Now St. John says that this faith without charity is a vain pretence. If a man say (says he in his first general Epistle) *I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar;* and he subjoins a *reason*, founded in the nature of things; *for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?* ‡

For man rises gradually in his comprehension of things, from the individual to the whole. Thus the love of every object begins originally from self-love. *Rational gratitude* and *innate* tenderness, then, teach us to love ourselves as . . . . . , and, by representation, in our parents and in our offspring. The principle of benevolence being now

* James, ii. 19. † 1 John, iv. 18. ‡ 1 John, iv. 20.

awaked, extends itself to our remoter *relations*, and soon takes in all the connexions of domestic life, and then by degrees extends through the whole neighbourhood, and soon to all the fellow members of the civil community. And now self-love, further refined by reason and sublimed by virtue, begins to lose its nature, and assume the better name of *charity*. Our country next claims our love; we then further extend it to all mankind; and never rest till we have at length fixed it on the most amiable of all objects, and in which all the other are contained—the great Author and Original of being. This is the natural progress of *charity*, and true original of *saving faith*.

From whence we see so close an union arise between them, that they become from henceforth inseparable. Well, therefore, might the Apostle call those liars who pretended to the true faith, the *love of God*, while they had no charity, or hated their brother; and his reasoning stands thus: "Can you, says he, who are not yet arrived at that inferior stage of benevolence, the *love of your brother*, whom you have seen, (that is, whom the necessities of animal and civil life, and the sense of mutual wants and mutual relief, might teach you to love,) can you pretend to have attained the very height and perfection of this virtue, *the love of God, whom you have not seen?*" (that is, whose wonderful œconomy in the system of the *creation* and *preservation* of the world, which makes him

so amiable, you appear not to have the least conception of); you have not yet learnt that your own peculiar system is supported on the great principle of general benevolence.

Without charity, therefore, we must needs conclude that faith is vain and inefficacious, as taking from it that in which its great virtue consists,—the *love* of the object believed in.

III. Lastly, even *moral practice* without *charity* is unamiable and unfruitful. The social virtues (which only are the subject of this proposition) consist in *justice*, and *administering to the wants* of others. Now, in the absence of charity, which gives these virtues all their lustre, the best motives to their observance can be only *civil and religious fear;* for I speak not of vanity, ambition, self-interest, and the like, which *all* see to be so worthless motives as to take away all *merit*, though not *use*, of social virtue.

The uncharitable man, therefore, who observes the rule of justice, does it not out of love or benevolence to mankind, but merely to avoid the penalties of the law, and the resentment of the civil magistrate. There is so little of the virtue of humanity in this, that the Roman satirist ridicules the most specious pretences to it:

Vir bonus est quis?
Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.

This was what the *people* said, indeed; but the *philosopher* would grant no more than—

Habes pretium, loris non ureris aio.

And where the motive of justice was only *himself*, he had his reward when *himself* escaped punishment by the observance of it.

Virtue has the *same* unamiable appearance in *almsgiving*, and the relief of the distressed, where it is divested of charity. As the performance of the other branch of social virtue was for fear of *present* punishment, so is this for fear of *future* only. Hence we see rich foundations and magnificent hospitals raised by men in whose breasts the love of *God* or *man* never entered, and who have often made more beggars in their lives than they could relieve at their deaths. At best, it is a heavy, painful sharing of the goods of fortune with our distressed brethren; *given*, as the Apostle expresses, *grudgingly and of necessity*, as arising from the fear of future punishments. But God, he tells us, *loveth a cheerful giver*;* that is, one excited to it by charity and universal benevolence,—virtues which spread a perpetual sunshine over the human mind, and, in this act and exercise of them, give ineffable joy to that happy man who considers himself as the steward of the goods of Providence, and entrusted with the distribution of them to the glory and honour of his Maker. This *cheerful giver*, the Apostle tells us, *God loves;* and we need not doubt it, for he loves God: the same Divine authority making the certain mark of his *love of God* to be, that he loves his brother also.

The sum, then, from the whole is this, that it is

* 2 Cor. ix. 7.

charity which gives to all the rest of the *Christian graces* and *moral duties* both their efficacy and their lustre; as it is light which restores to all animate and inanimate bodies both their *form* and *colour*. Unirradiated, therefore, by solar charity, all the other virtues lie lost and undistinguished in the deep obscurity and gloom of earthy passions and appetites, which, though they may perhaps save us for our own *ease* or *reputation* here, or may even be of use to the community we live with, will never benefit us in procuring that happiness which our holy religion offers to all that seek it, through the love of God and man.

SERMON VII.

DECEITFULNESS OF SIN.

Heb. iii. 12, 13.

TAKE HEED, BRETHREN, LEST THERE BE IN YOU AN EVIL HEART OF UNBELIEF IN DEPARTING FROM THE LIVING GOD. BUT EXHORT ONE ANOTHER DAILY, WHILE IT IS CALLED TO-DAY, LEST ANY OF YOU BE HARDENED THROUGH THE DECEITFULNESS OF SIN.

The holy Apostle, calling upon his *brethren*, the *Jewish* converts, to *watchfulness and repentance*, very appositely reminds them (in the words preceding my text) of the folly of their ancestors, who, devoted to their *idols of wood and stone*, neglected the day of grace, and of return to the *living God*.

One would hardly have imagined (but for the warning here given) that the first followers of Christ should become infected with an *evil heart of unbelief*, almost as soon as they had been renewed and regenerated with the spirit of the *living God*.

It is certain, however, that the men of the *present times* hold the greatest resemblance to those rebellious Israelites of old in all the circumstances of *their* and *our* apostacy.

When the *descendants of Abraham*, now groan-

ing under oppression, had called in vain on the gods of the nations for relief, Moses brought them acquainted with the *living God;* by whose almighty power he led them, in spite of their tyrant, into a land of peace and liberty, situate on the borders of one still better, the *promised land* of plenty and dominion; but, while preparation was making for their reception of this last great blessing, an *evil heart of unbelief* began to seize upon them, and they turned from their Deliverer to their *idols of wood and stone.*

Just so it was with us, the *descendants of Adam at large*, when groaning under the slavery of our lusts and passions, the instruments of whose rage were death and error, and calling in vain upon those idols of our own hands, *philosophy* and *human wisdom*, which only aggravated our misery by showing our condition to be desperate. Then it was, that the *living God* sent unto us his son, to lead us into his church, the mansion of light and peace, and the vestibule to those eternal regions reserved for the faithful hereafter.

But it is not my purpose to explain the various ways by which the Christian world has, at different times, abused and forfeited these celestial blessings: my business, at present, is to show how we Englishmen of these latter ages have rivalled those rebellious Israelites, both in God's mercies and in our own follies. It is hardly a century ago, when God, to punish us for the abuse of his two greatest

blessings, *freedom of government* and *purity of religion*, sent out a spirit of dissension, which soon overturned the constitution both of church and state, and left them a prey to the ambition of civil usurpers, and to the hypocrisy of religious tyrants, till we became the pity and contempt of the whole earth. But God, in his justice, remembered mercy; and, by one of the most signal exertions of His providence, from this *chaos*, as at the *creation*, called out order—at His word the church and monarchy were again restored, and with them all our civil and religious blessings. But what return did we make for this deliverance? Instead of repentance, sobriety, and a more sincere attachment to our holy faith, luxury, riot, and an *evil heart of unbelief* arose amongst us; the latter of which kept still spreading wide and more wide, till it had, as now it has, infected the whole body of the people.

But what say the *Oracles of Truth*, in this case of a general defection from the living God? How do they direct those who yet stand firm in the faith? They advise such to oppose themselves to this torrent of impiety. They direct them to aid and strengthen those of their brethren who are yet on the *doubtful* confines of religion and impiety; of virtue and of vice; of sense and nonsense; and who now go over to one side, now to another, as their *conscience* and their *passions* drive them to and fro at random.

"Exhort one another daily (says the Apostle) while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin:" where, we may observe, that the sacred writer takes it for granted, that the apostacy from the *living God* he here speaks of arises from the *deceitfulness of sin*, which had polluted and defiled the heart, and so fitted it for the entrance of the evil *spirit of unbelief*. We understand, from the sad experience of all ages, that he had reason to make this conclusion.

To pursue, therefore, the direction of my text, which, as the best *cure* for unbelief, begins with the *cause*, and prescribes the eradication of our *vices* by a speedy repentance.

"Exhort one another daily (says the text) while it is called TO-DAY." The present moments are here called *to-day:* they are *emphatically* so, both on a *physical* and a *religious* account. *To-day* may, for ought we know, be the last of our lives; or it may be the utmost term of *grace*. We presume, therefore, too much both on God's natural and moral dispensation, to expect a *to-morrow*, for that work which God hath appointed us to do *to-day:* we grossly transgress in prudence, to subject a necessary work to the hazard of never being done *at all*, when we have it in our power to do it *now*.

But there are *other* dangers in deferring repentance, besides shortening the *term of life* or the *day*

of grace. And these the Apostle intimates to us in what he calls the *deceitfulness of sin*, whose property it is to *harden the heart;* which he reckons, and very truly, to be an eternal bar to effectual repentance.

To prevent these mischiefs, therefore, it may not be unuseful to you to explain this quality of sin, its *deceitfulness*, and the bad effect it has upon the *heart*, to render it obdurate and unfeeling to all the impressions of *nature* and of *grace*.

Sin manages its *deceits* by the *pleasures* it objects to our *senses*, and by the *sophistry* it obtrudes on our *understanding*.

The false pleasures of sin are either those *momentary joys* it *produces*, or those *imaginary delights* which it *promises;* both of which have a natural tendency to *harden* the unguarded *heart*, by *dissolving* its powers, or *diverting* them from their attendance on reason.

All men experience the irresistible force of *pleasure*, the passion for it being implanted in our constitution, in order to excite us to the pursuit of *true happiness*, the *end* of our being. But of all pleasures, the *pleasures of sense* strike us most forcibly, as they were meant to be the means of preserving both the *individual* and the *kind*. Now the pleasures of sin are pleasures of this sort followed *imprudently*, seized upon *unlawfully*, and enjoyed *with excess*. In which state the heart

becomes deaf to the admonitions of conscience, and to the stronger calls of religion.

But this is not all. Exorbitant and unlawful pleasures, after long use, become even necessary to the *quiet* of a brutalized mind; and a *hardened heart* is the proper agent of its gratifications.

Nor is *this* the worst. The pleasures of intemperance become, in some sort, even necessary to the *health* of the body. This is one of the strangest *prodigies* produced by vice. But it is too frequent to be doubted of. For the organs of the human frame, brought into an *unnatural* state, vitiated by pleasure, deranged by excess, and overstrained by the repeated violence of luxurious impressions, are now incapable of performing their proper functions *but* by the continuance of that *unnatural* condition.

And this makes way for another of the deceits of sin; which now, with some plausibility, would persuade us that *that* course of life can never be amiss which tends to preserve us in our present state of health.

These are the effects of that momentary pleasure which *sin* may be said *actually* to afford. But, as this enemy of our nature promises *mountains* when it can hardly raise *molehills; where* the pleasure falls short of the expectation, *there sin* is at hand, with its *further deceits,* persuading its deluded votaries that the disappointment shall

be amply repaired by persevering in the *course* of folly.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the *horrid form of vice*, whatever disguise she puts on, might be sufficient to fright us from all commerce with her. And so it would be, had we the power of keeping our ideas separate and distinct, and of making each the simple representation of itself. But we are so framed by nature (indeed, for wise and admirable purposes) as to receive, or, at least, to possess, our ideas *encumbered* with such *foreign* connexions, so *oddly* made, and of things so entirely unrelated (which chance and accidents have brought together), as not to have it in our power, for the most part, to separate each from the other, and to view them *singly* and *distinct*.

Thus, for instance, consider *avarice in itself*, and nothing appears more base and contemptible: yet, dragging along with it the ideas of power, place, and security, it changes its nature, and becomes a *provident provision*.

Can anything be more savage and barbarous than a *prosecuted revenge for trifles?* yet join the idea of *honour* to it (which it is difficult to separate from it), and it becomes *heroic spirit* and *greatness of mind*.

Intemperance, for ever accompanied with a distempered body and an enfeebled mind, we should fly from as from a pestilence, did not the *jollity of debauch*, at the same time, sound so loudly in our

ears as to still the softer voice of reason and safety.—And so of the rest.

This is one species of that *deceit* which sin obtrudes upon its votaries; in which it is assisted by the very nature of sin itself.

There is another still more refined, and, if not so forcible, yet more insinuating; I mean, those *false reasonings*, the deceits of sophistry, all directed to one end, viz. to darken and perplex our native sentiments of *right* and *wrong*, of *good* and *evil;* and this by several ingenious contrivances.

Sometimes, *sin* endeavours to persuade us, that what are *commonly* called the *strict dictates of virtue* are only the impositions of *severe* and *abstracted* moralists, or of *artful* and *designing* politicians; that nature, an unerring guide, informs us, that the *appetites* were given to be enjoyed, and the *passions* (planted in us by her own hand,) ordained to be *gratified;* that *pleasure*, another word for *happiness*, being the *end* of man, the pursuit of it will no more bear remission or interruption, than life itself, in the exercise of the vital functions; and that it is as necessary the desire should be constantly gratified, as that the pulse should continue to beat.

But *where*, to a more *delicate or timorous* mind, this doctrine appears too gross or daring, *there sin*, by the magic of her sophistry, can transform each vice into its neighbouring virtue. *Ambition* becomes the *love of glory; injustice* is *self-preservation; cunning* is *wisdom;* and *luxury, munificence.*

But the *capital sophistry* of Sin, and that in which she most prides herself, is to strike at the *foundation* of morality, by discrediting the distinctions of *truth* and *falsehood*, from whence arise the differences of *right* and *wrong*. She now pretends that *Nature* has involved its *mysteries* (if any such there be) in clouds and darkness, and doomed man to a total ignorance of all things: that therefore *doubt and uncertainty* is the *philosophy of the wise;* that all distinctions of right and wrong, of good and evil, are the phantoms of metaphysic dreams; and, in fine, that Nature has opened to us no other road to happiness, than by the *senses*.

Such are the various *deceits* of sin, which, the Apostle tells us, tend to *harden the heart,* and thereby render all exhortations to repentance vain and fruitless. And, indeed, the nature of things considered, it is *morally impossible*, after a *long course* of vice, that it should be otherwise. *Can the Ethiopian* (says the Prophet) change his *skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, who are accustomed to do evil.* For the *deceitfulness of the pleasures of sin* renders the heart *unfeeling* and *insensible;* the *deceitfulness of its sophistry* makes it *perverse* and *untractable*. Now these, when acting in conjunction, bring over the *heart* so impenetrable a cover, as to make it totally *unfeeling;* for perversity hinders all approaches in attempting to overcome its *insensibility;* and insensibility affords us no ground or footing to

combat its *perversity;* so that it remains equally incapable of the impressions either of *reason* or of *grace.*

Hence we understand the admirable advice of the sacred writer, in my text, to oppose sin *daily, while it is called to-day;* which implies, that we should not let slip the *present moments,* for these only are in our power, and likewise, (which the words *while it is called to-day* more emphatically imply,) that the fittest season for the work of repentance is while sin has not yet had time to interpose with its *deceits,* nor brought the *heart* into a slavish subjection to its dictates.

May we all therefore exercise our mutual charity to one another in hearkening to this good old advice, which, before the coming of these new instructors, our wise forefathers reverenced, and by which they profited, *to exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day, least any of us be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin.*

SERMON VIII.

DUELLING.

James, c. iv. v. 1.

FROM WHENCE COME WARS AND FIGHTINGS AMONG YOU? COME THEY NOT HENCE, EVEN OF YOUR LUSTS?

The Apostle is here speaking of the grounds, both of public and private dissensions;—which all who have looked into the world, as well as the Apostle, have given to the account of our inordinate lusts and passions.

The desolation brought upon mankind by our civil rulers can only be *lamented*. For who shall redress the disorders occasioned by those whose office it is, and who alone have it in their power to prevent them? These must be left to the judgment of *Him* whose substitutes they are.

But those audacious men who assume the right of sovereigns, and dare to determine their private quarrels with one another by the sword, can pretend to none of this exemption.

I shall, therefore, take upon me to censure the practice of DUELLING, as it affects *civil society* and religion, by shewing it to be a scandalous insult upon *both*.

On men's first entrance into *society*, they agreed to refer all their quarrels and disputes of a civil kind to a common arbiter, who was indifferent to the parties contending. And indeed to procure this great commodity was one of the principal ends of *entering* into society; every man's judging in his own cause being what in a little time rendered the *state of nature* intolerable.

Now the *Duellist*, by assuming the right to judge for himself, does, by his example, all in his power to bring men back again to that state of misery and confusion from which civil society has relieved them. Such an one, therefore, becomes (and should be so deemed) a declared enemy to all government and order. And what greatly aggravates the crime is this, that they who thus offend against law, (for all well-policied states have concurred to make the crime of DUELLING capital,) are generally the men whose superior stations place them amongst the framers, or at least conservators of the public laws; such who lie under particular obligations to support them in vigour, and vindicate the violation of them.

Religion, in its directions to private men and particulars, expressly forbids the *shedding of man's blood*, except in one only case, the repelling immediate and mortal danger from themselves; and this under the severest penalty, the forfeited blood of the offender. *He that sheddeth man's*

blood, by man shall his blood be shed, saith the Lord of life and death. For this crime, and this alone, the God of mercy appears inexorable; He who, with regard to all other trespasses, which we commit against one another, recommends to us mutual forbearance and forgiveness, shuts up *both the doors* of mercy, the *human* and *divine*. For the irremissible sentence, of offering up to eternal justice the *blood* of the murderer, is both a *direction* for human judicatories, and a declaration of His own pursuing vengeance, whereby He engages Himself so to direct the course of his Providence, that *second causes* shall perform the office of the fabled Furies, to hunt the offender through the world, till they have brought him to the bar of civil justice, where, if he escape, the same avengers shall still dog his footsteps, till the torments of a distracted conscience, or another murderer like himself, have rendered him up to the tribunal of Heaven.

But RELIGION, for the security of man's life, does not stop here. It does not, like human laws, do its work imperfectly, and only punish when crimes are committed: it has contrived to prevent them, by restraining the first motion towards them, and guarding the remoter approaches towards their commitment.

Thus it enjoins the government of the passions; more particularly of *anger* and *revenge*. It allows us *to be angry, and sin not*; that is, it indulges

our first motions, but forbids *us* to indulge them. It allows still less to *revenge;* it considers the *gratification* of this passion as an impious usurpation on the rights of Heaven. *Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.*

Religion goes still further. It not only restrains *wrath,* but commands *forgiveness of injuries;* and not only slight ones, but the most weighty; and not for once, but as often as they can be supposed to be repeated.

Lastly, as the most effectual barrier against all outrages of this kind, we are commanded *to love our neighbour* (every one of our own species) *as ourselves.*

Our Lord and Master, therefore, having been pleased to put so many barriers round the life of man, how great must be the enormity of this offence, which cannot be committed till we have already despised and violated a hundred precepts of our Holy Religion, and broken loose, like savages, from all the ties of reason and humanity!

Thus we see, by this impious practice of duelling, society and religion are equally insulted, and their laws set at nought for trifles and airy visions, for empty honour or a painted mistress,—the creatures of a heated fancy or disordered understanding.

Such is the charge, which, by the duty of my office and function, I am compelled to bring against these *spadassins* and cut-throats without commission.

Let us now see what they have to plead in defence or excuse of so execrable a practice.

Such of them who have not yet been taught to speculate on the matter, rest their defence on *custom* and *fashionable practice*. We must descend, therefore, to talk with them according to their capacities.

Now, if we make *custom* the rule of our actions, and are not able to regulate it on the principles of *right* and *fit*, but on the practice of men, we should at least take for our imitation the wisest and most polished nations of the world, and not the most savage and barbarous. We should rather follow the example of the Greeks and Romans than the Goths and Vandals.

Now, amongst the Greeks and Romans, who did not want *spirit*, (to use the fashionable cant,) the practice of *duelling* was entirely unknown throughout the whole period of the existence of those great and extended empires. It came in with those desolators of the flourishing works of God, the Goths and Vandals of the North. Nor even amongst these did it make an original part of that rude and sturdy policy which more settled times made serve for the foundation of civil liberty. Nor did the feudal law itself, so well fitted to perpetuate war and discord, hit upon this rare invention of the duel to make the sword more widely destructive.

Its parent was not the fierceness of savage man-

ners; these were only the nurse. It was brought into the world by that old breeder of monsters—SUPERSTITION.

When these northern Pagans suffered themselves to embrace Christianity, they received their new religion in a very corrupt condition from Rome; and church-men and church-canons having by that means polluted the pure source of justice in the civil courts, they soon borrowed from the Jewish Law, misunderstood, that species of civil process called *trials ordeal*, in which the appeal is made to Heaven. When things were got into this train, the trials ordeal by COMBAT best suited the fiery temper of Gothic valour. It was so frequently demanded of the magistrate, and thence became so well established in practice, that the courts of justice were turned into a kind of *tilt-yard*. Nor did this satisfy the impatience of these savage contenders. Instead of *demanding the combat of the magistrate*, they abridged the process by demanding it of one another. Such was the base original of the *modern duel*. It began in superstition; it was nourished in barbarism; and it is supported by impiety and injustice.

Now, that our *swordsmen*, who pretend to extreme *politeness*, and do more than pretend to a perfect freedom from what they call *superstition*, should choose to follow the practice of savage bigots, rather than the polished manners of Greek and Roman *freemen* and *freethinkers*, is not a little

extraordinary. But their plea (as we have said) is ignorance, and it would be uncandid to push them further.

A something better defence of this odious practice is, the preservation and support of *honour*. The word is, without doubt, a good word; and, if the thing meant by it was as *substantial* as *plausible*, it could not be too carefully guarded.

By HONOUR, therefore, they would have us think they mean *such a conduct throughout life as procures solid reputation to a man's self, and benefit to the community of which he is a member.*

The finest gentleman would be ashamed to confess that this is not a true definition of *his honour*; for what other way is there in all nature to acquire this glory but by the strict observance of the laws of God and of the magistrate? But it has been shown that this barbarous mode of preserving honour violates our duty to both; so that whatever honour is thus preserved or procured, is not the genuine honour above defined, but a bastard species—a counterfeit—an impostor, whose origin is this:—In times of ignorance or licentiousness, many actions, in themselves to be condemned, do, by a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, pass for RIGHT, or what affords them an easier reception, for GREAT, and give the actor who has the boldness to commit them vulgar fame and celebrity. And for this bastard honour, the idol of the swordsman's devotion, he is ready to sacrifice

his life and fortune, and what is dearer to the true soldier, all honest glory.

The *wise* and foolish are equally solicitous for the preservation of this brightest jewel of human life—their honour. In this they differ,—the wise man is careful that *his* honour rises upon reason and virtue; the other is content to take for honour whatever the great drag-net of time brings fashionably down under that sacred denomination.

Law and religion, indeed, have given him *one* standard measure of honour; but he wilfully follows *another*,—a shifting phantom raised by his lusts and passions.

Another defence or excuse for the practice of duelling (that is for assuming the office of *judge* and *executioner* in his own cause,) is, that courts of justice give us no relief in our complaints of violated honour: a certain sign that the injuries complained of are of so trifling and fantastic a nature, that it would dishonour a court of justice to busy itself about them. Against all real and substantial injuries the laws have provided substantial remedies; and the courts of justice daily dispense them with a care, minuteness, and precision altogether admirable. But against imaginary injuries it would be endless, it would be impossible to make provision; and I call those injuries imaginary which not nature and reason, but capricious custom and corrupt manners, create or aggravate.

But supposing, what is not to be granted, that

the magistrate, in his established courts of law, in certain cases, has not provided for the reparation of trifling injuries;—is the person offended to fly to arms for satisfaction? This would be (as much as in him lay) to dissolve the bonds of society, and to reduce us back to the disorders of savage life; the miseries of which state arose from *every man being his own avenger*. To remedy this evil, social life was introduced, and a *common arbiter* established. But is perfection to be found in any human institution? If *life*, *property*, and *reputation* be in general secured by the laws of society, this is more than enough to dispose every good man to bear with content the small inconveniences which may possibly exist in *that* to which he belongs.

Another more plausible excuse for this barbarous practice, is peculiar to the military gentlemen. They tell us, "they are driven to the field by necessity; that they must either meet their adversary on the point of their swords, when he calls them thither; or their swords, or, what is worse, themselves, must be broken for cowardice." But we should be cautious how we credit so strange a story. The laws of a Christian Legislature make slaughter by the duellist a capital crime; and yet they would persuade us that the supreme magistrate, the executor of those laws, punishes with almost equal severity such who are disposed to avoid the breach of them. Surely

there must be some mistake in this matter. And on further inquiry, they confess that authority is driven, as it were, to this severe measure, for that the officers of the corps will no longer *roll* with that poltroon, who chooses rather to obey the laws of his country than their insolent practice in the breach of them. If there be any truth in this strange story, it hath not yet reached the ears of the sovereign, who would most assuredly send those who for this reason refuse to *roll* with him in their corps, to roll with the less audacious infringers of the laws in Newgate.

But in reality we may be assured that this inconsistent account of the military discipline, can be no other than the absurd gloss of a few senseless subalterns to support a wicked practice of murder, for which (though disguised under the varnish of honour) our equal laws send the criminal to the gallows.

If there be any truth in the encouragement given to *duelling* amongst military men, it must have arisen from a very mistaken principle, that *the duellist makes the best soldier ;* no more true, in fact, than that a good buffoon makes the best actor ; which we know by experience to be false. For *that* species of courage which *makes* the duellist, will *unmake* the soldier. The soldier is irresistible in war, when inflamed with the love of his country, and impatient to revenge its injuries. The duellist becomes terrible in peace, by setting

the laws of his country at nought, and by revenging his own injuries instead of those of the public.

But from *excusing*, the *duellist* rises at length to that degree of folly as to *recommend*, his practice to society. He pretends "that it is so far from being hurtful or injurious to the public, that it is the true source of *good manners;* one of the main blessings of social life; that these *terrors of the sword* teach men civility and politeness in their converse with one another, which would become savage and brutal, but for this curb on the passions."

Who would not think, but that this was a *Pagan* apologist addressing himself to a *Pagan* nation, ignorant of any other method to preserve *peace and good manners* than the sword at the throat, and who had never yet heard of the heavenly precepts of *brotherly-love* and *forgiveness.* But this is a CHRISTIAN country, at least in *profession;* and the Bible, which lies open to all, shews us a more excellent way to peace. The swordsman, perhaps, may have read that the blessed Founder of our faith, told His followers, that *He came to send a sword upon earth,* that is, duellists and cut-throats; but these were sent like snakes and vipers, and all other noxious animals, for punishment, in his wrath: the genuine fruits of his coming were, *peace and good will to mankind.*

Since, then, *good manners*, (the outward sign, at least, of *peace and good will*,) is so useful to society that *God* has provided *one* security for it, and *man another*, viz. the *Gospel* and the *Duel*, let us aim at a reasonable choice.

Now it is a maxim, even in Pagan politics, that when the same good can be procured two ways, the one by *tolerating* a *less evil*, the other by *practising* a *greater good*, the latter is to be preferred.

The swordsman and I are agreed, that politeness and civility in human converse is a good to be procured. *He* proposes to do it by the Pagan *tolerance* of *evil*; *I* by *eschewing* all evil, according to the rules of the Gospel.

This is not all. *He* is contented, if by his method he introduces amongst men such a behaviour as is the exterior mark of *peace and good will*. *Mine* goes further, and by mending the *heart* secures the government of the *tongue*. *Whose* method is more effectual and lasting, shall be left to themselves.

To sum up all in a word, I have shewn that the practice of duelling contradicts common sense, affronts the laws of society, and violates the sanctity of religion.

I have exposed the excuses, the justifications, and the recommendations of the practice, from whence it appears to be inconsistent with a free

society erected on the principles of reason and nature.

False honour may *thus* tinsel over the gaudy slaves of an absolute master; and it may be of a piece with the unjust administration of despotic power; but *that solid honour* springing from the practice of virtue is the prize of the free citizen, and which he understands can be neither gained nor kept, but by the observance of the laws of *that* society, and the precepts of *that* religion, which he has bound himself to obey, and which he professes to believe.*

* This subject has been handled with great force of reason, in an admirable argument by the great Lord Bacon, (then Sir Francis Bacon, and Attorney General,) in a charge upon an information in the Star Chamber, against Priest and Wright, 10 and 11 Jac. I. printed in the "*Resuscitatio*," by his chaplain Rawley.

FINIS.

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